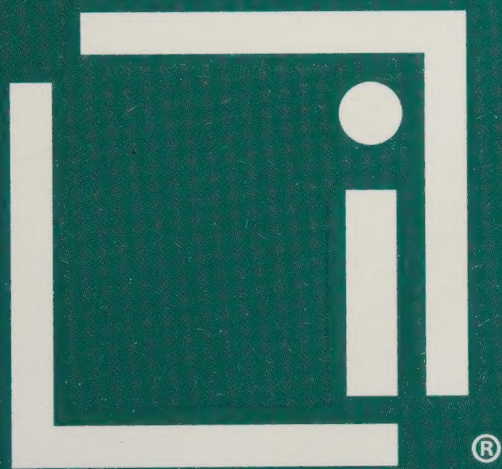


THE NEW FASCIST STATE

A STUDY OF ITALY UNDER MUSSOLINI



EDWIN WARE HULLINGER
BENITO MUSSOLINI

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THE NEW FASCIST STATE

*A Study of Italy
under Mussolini*

by
EDWIN WARE HULLINGER

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THE
NEW NAZIST STATE

A Study of the
New Nazi Movement

BY
EDWARD W. HENKLE

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FOREWORD

My aim in preparing this volume was similar to that which I had before me in writing "The Reforging of Russia": to present a human picture of one of the world's greatest social and political experiments. Different as the two ventures are in many ways, Fascist Italy and Soviet Russia stand out today against the rather drab skies of Europe with a vividness and novelty that have drawn the eyes of the world. Both are life experiments of a most intense nature. There is no more significant proof of the impression their existence has made than the fact that both have become issues of political controversy in most civilized countries, a circumstance that in both instances has helped to obscure not only the basic facts involved but the human truths of the situation.

The creation of the Italian Fascist State was a bold adventure in nation-building. It is a human episode of too great moment to be approached with a pre-judgment. It was an outgrowth of turmoil, which seems to be an inevitable element in the

awakening of mankind. It was part of a world phenomenon of social unrest that caused upheavals of various natures in many parts of the globe after the War. The Fascist State was Mussolini's answer to the social-economic problem as it confronted Italy at a particular moment.

This work is intended primarily as an interpretation, an attempt to portray the social and economic processes which are under way in Italy today. These processes are fundamental and organic. They extend too deeply into the national body—politic, economic and social—to be completed in a few years. Their entire story scarcely can be written for several decades. What can be said with definiteness now is that these processes are in motion. The task remains to reach the goals which have been glimpsed. For this reason, the account of what is taking place in Italy today is likely to be the story of what will be taking place in the Italian peninsula in one form or other for a considerable period.

At the same time, this book is necessarily also a history. In this respect, the span of time covered is, roughly, the first half-decade of the existence of the Fascist régime: from the end of 1922, when the revolutionary uprising became the official gov-

ernment at Rome, to the month of October, 1928, when this manuscript goes to press. This arc, of course, is projected against the background of events leading up to the March on Rome, and the extremely important background of Italy's previous social or human development.

I further wish here to express my appreciation for the valuable help rendered by my assistant, in Florence, Dr. Yorlanda Corso.

E. W. H.

PART I
WHAT FASCISM IS

I

THE RISE OF FASCIST ITALY

ON the northern shores of the Mediterranean, once the home of the great Roman Empire, a new state is rising. Italy, lineal heir of the "glory that was Rome," is becoming aroused from the lethargy in which the peninsula has lain, with the exception of short periods, for a thousand years. She is moving again to a place among the first nations of the earth. The spirit of the ancients, dormant in the blood of the race for centuries, seems suddenly to have become stirred, to leap to the surface, to re-instill into the fiber of the modern Latins something of the energy and vitality which were dominant traits of their forefathers.

Italy is re-awakening, and this process of itself is arresting the attention of the world.

The awakening came, strangely, at a very opportune moment. It came when the country was already in the advanced stages of social and economic disintegration, due to the combined effects of an attempted Communist *coup d'état* and the general spiritual chaos which followed the World

War. It came at a time when Italy—modern Italy, of course, was scarcely sixty years old as a nation, dating from the war of independence in 1870—was actually at the cross-roads of its destiny as a state. It came, also, largely as the result of the genius of a single individual, Benito Mussolini, now premier and dictator of Italy and easily the outstanding personality in Europe. Seldom has it been given to any man to do so much by his own personal effort in arousing a nation and changing its life. Lenin, lord of Russia's millions and leader of the Bolshevik revolution, never exercised so great an individual influence over his compatriots as Mussolini exerts today over this nation of 42,000,000. The Kaiser never dreamed of a personal sway so extensive. It is safe to say that no man since Napoleon has so impressed his personality upon a nation. As a record of purely personal achievement, events in Italy since the Fascist revolution in the autumn of 1922 hold a tale of unusual fascination.

The story of Mussolini's dramatic rise to power is only part of the story of developments in this old-new nation during the last six years. Coincident with the awakening just described, a new form of economic state, both a by-product of the

awakening process and in a sense an instrument by means of which it has been furthered, has been worked out in its details and set to functioning. Around the newly vibrating soul of the nation, so to speak, a new body has taken shape. This new body not only differs markedly from the form of state that existed in Italy before 1922, but from all other state structures now existing in the modern world. Its parts are not new. Some of its functional principles were lifted in toto from the American realm of business. But the assembling of the various parts has resulted in as radical a departure from the conventional forms of states of this century as was the Soviet government in Russia. With Russia, different as the two ventures are, Fascist Italy stands out today as one of the world's two most interesting national exhibits. It is easily the most striking national experiment in Western Europe since the French revolution, and looms up against the rather drab, confused skies of the Continent with an individuality that has caught the eye of the world and held it as has no other single event since the War.

The Fascist movement, the human force which under Mussolini's guidance has brought this new state into being and has aroused the nation to its

newly found activity, is itself one of the most interesting social phenomena in the Western Hemisphere today. Its advent has been hailed by some as the birth of a new economic faith—a claim which, in my opinion, is a trifle exaggerated in view of the fact that much of the Fascist program is designed directly for the peculiar national needs of Italy at the moment. But the movement has made a distinct impression on world thought. It has been copied feebly by certain groups in other lands. In this latter connection, it is important to distinguish sharply between Fascism as it exists in Italy and the pseudo-Fascist movements which have sprung up in various other European countries, notably in France, England, Germany and in some Balkan districts. In their present form, these latter bear little real resemblance to Italian Fascism, beyond a mutual hatred of Bolshevism. These groups have simply seized upon the Fascist method of direct action and have used it to further their own political objectives, which have usually been reactionary. They have borrowed the prestige of the Fascist name without bothering to trouble themselves with its program. During a residence of more than seven years, scattered over the period since the War, in a number of

European countries, I have had opportunity to watch the development of the British Fascisti, the German Hittites and, to a less extent, the French Fascisti. This difference is important to keep in mind in adjusting one's eye to developments in Italy.

Fascist Italy is today one of the world's most intriguing fields of study for students of social and economic problems. It has excited the curiosity of a large part of both Europe and America. Since returning to the United States I have traveled across the American continent, lecturing in cities all the way from Los Angeles to New York. "What is really happening in Italy" has almost invariably been the first query I have been asked whenever conversation turned to Europe. Nothing better illustrates the impression that the incident of Fascism's existence has made than the fact that Fascist Italy has become a highly controversial subject in most countries of the West.

The Italian Fascist state is now more than five years old. It has survived many prophecies of collapse, and is increasing steadily in vitality and effectiveness. From a second rate power, a nation that had to be content with the "leavings" at the Peace Conference in Paris, Italy has forced itself

into the European scheme of things with an energy that has already gained for it recognition as one of the major powers of the Continent, alongside France, England and Germany. Even more impressive is the country's record of internal economic recovery under Mussolini's dictatorship. Aside from their various doctrinal differences, Bolshevism and Fascism have this one great point of contrast: the former brought its country to economic ruin; the latter puts its country on its feet materially. All of which has given the world reason to ask, "What new thing is this that has happened in Italy?"

It is possible now to return an answer to this query with a completeness that was out of the question a short time ago. The completion of the Fascist régime's first half decade of history, noteworthy as an evidence of the substantial nature of the movement, drew its principal importance from the fact that it also marked a definite transition in the situation in Italy and in the development of the Fascist movement. In a word, the Fascist revolution reached the end of its first cycle, and entered a new phase, a phase distinct in many ways from the early period of revolutionary struggle, which began in 1922. Fascism ceased to be a revo-

lution. The initial battle for political power, during which the Fascisti were obliged to establish by force their position as political masters of the country, ended, roughly, late in 1925. To a degree a personal danger to Mussolini from an assassin still exists, it is true. The head of any modern government faces a measure of this same danger. But the termination of the first period of revolutionary trial found Fascist authority definitely consolidated and the Black Shirts firmly in control of Italy. Inside the boundaries of the peninsula, effective opposition had ceased. It had been narrowed down to a small band of 30,000 Communists who still carry on a partly open, mostly clandestine, political warfare. The Liberal, or Center groups, whom Mussolini overthrew when he seized power, had been silenced. Some of their leaders had been exiled, others imprisoned, while those remaining in Italy became reconciled to their destiny of oblivion. In short, the establishment of the revolutionary government, a process usually achieved by use of force, had been completed. /

With this, the focal point of operations shifted to the constructive aspects of the Revolution's program, and the second, and present period of the new state's development began. This circum-

stance led to a change in the character of many features of the situation. New objectives arose to claim the attention of Fascist forces throughout Italy. A new type of leader, equally energetic but often better adapted to take charge of the great reconstruction battle just beginning, drew to the fore in the party. Farinacci, the "strong-armed Big Stick" secretary of the national Fascist Party, who had rendered such valuable aid to the cause during the period when these methods were imperative, was forced to resign. In his stead, Mussolini placed a new man, Augusto Turati, a former labor leader, better suited by temperament to the needs of the new epoch. In districts where old regional leaders were retained, their energy was re-directed toward the carrying out of a new program. Many of the deeper, fundamental aims of the Dictator as they touched Italy's development as a social and economic body, were now disclosed, and Fascism stood revealed in its full dimensions, in both its negative and positive aspects.

The transition was gradual, of course. The ends of the two periods overlapped. Broadly speaking, the body of the present period goes back to the latter part of the year 1925. Its roots taper back to the beginnings of Fascism. But by the middle

of 1926 the fact became inescapable to any thoughtful observer in Italy that a new phase of Fascism had arrived.

Today, the position of the Fascist government and its prime objectives are strikingly different from what they were four years ago. Since December, 1925, Mussolini has had a clear field. Seldom in history has a nation been led into such a complete reversal of sentiment towards a revolutionary government—one that set itself up by force—in the short space of five years. That the majority of the nation, hostile in 1923, are today behind Mussolini can not be questioned. A decided shift in popular attitude towards the administration manifested itself early in 1926. Since then pro-Fascist sentiment has advanced steadily. And the conversion of the masses has been deep-seated. By this I do not mean, as the more ardent party members claim, that every Italian is heart and soul a Fascist sympathizer. A proportion have fallen in with the procession for reasons of opportunism. Under the circumstances, their selfish interests, and certainly their standing in the Fascist trade unions upon which the jobs of many depend, would suffer if they did not. In Fascist Italy it is not expedient to be other than pro-Fas-

cist. But the fact remains that, allowing for this element, a very large proportion of the nation is wholeheartedly and genuinely favorable to the present government and keenly enthusiastic over Mussolini as head of it because of the material improvement which the régime has brought in the fortunes of the country. It is difficult to reduce popular sentiment to figures, but if asked to express the present situation in percentages, I would say that fully two-thirds of the population genuinely approve of the administration, and are convinced of the desirability of its program. Another 30%, inwardly either lukewarm or unconvinced, are openly pro-Fascist for reasons of personal advantage. The former group is growing steadily, however, and the latter diminishing. I do not think the actual opposition would exceed 5%. And if the question were the proportion of citizens who admire Mussolini personally and who would look upon his death as a national calamity, I believe the answer would be nearly the whole nation.

In 1924, even in 1925, the Black-shirted Legions were fighting for the life of their régime.

What has been accomplished since, and what technique has been employed, will be studied in

subsequent pages. As already intimated, two major processes have been initiated: first, the creation of a new economic order, and, second, the spiritual rejuvenation and social reorganization of the people. The mechanism of the new economic order is novel and its creation may prove to be a noteworthy event in world economic history. It is built around an extremely interesting piece of machinery, designed to handle relations between Capital and Labor. It maintains as its foundation recognition of the right of private property, although it radically extends the state's control over the nation's economic activities. In a later chapter, I shall describe its structure in detail. More important still from the point of view of the Italian people is the second process, a process which transcends the first because it is essential to the success of the former or of any other economic order in Italy. This process we shall also examine and endeavor to appraise.

In order to obtain a perspective on current developments in Italy, and to understand the outstanding objectives of the administration, it is essential to keep clearly in one's mind the principal events of the early revolutionary period, and

to appreciate the urgent, organic, national problems which confronted Fascism at the time it assumed the responsibility of government.

Let us, first, review briefly the period of revolution, which, broadly, extended from 1922 to the end of 1925.

Although Fascism originally presented itself as an insignificant movement in 1919, the revolutionary legions were not organized until the spring of 1922. They were called together "to save the country from Bolshevism" and to crush the power of the Reds, which was growing rapidly. The first unit is said to have been mobilized in an editorial room in Milan. Similar units were quickly formed in other districts of northern Italy. At first, the Fascist order operated as a sort of Ku Klux Klan. It grew into a volunteer revolutionary army. Most of its members had recently served in the World War. Mussolini soon saw that half-way measures would not be sufficient. The Black Shirts—so-called because of the black shirt which was a conspicuous part of their uniforms, especially in the summer, when they went in their shirt sleeves—began to conduct organized raids on Socialist centers in various parts of Italy. In a short time, the movement had assumed national propor-

tions. I recall how deeply it had already succeeded in stirring northern Italy as early as the summer of 1922, when I first went to Italy. It was the day's topic of conversation. The movement was drawing to itself a large portion of the spirited youth of the North.

The historic march on Rome took place in October, 1922. The term "march" is a trifle misleading, in view of the fact that there was no concerted procession down the length of the peninsula, on the plan of Sherman's famous march to the sea in the American Civil War. What happened was that about 100,000 Fascisti, hailing from all parts of Italy, were summoned by Mussolini to mobilize on a plateau twenty miles north of the capital, preparatory to capture of the city, by force if necessary. In response to this order, individual units of Fascisti came hurrying from widely remote portions of the peninsula, availing themselves of any means of conveyance they could get. The revolutionary army was not brought together as a single unit until it had assembled itself in this fashion outside Rome.

Although Red snipers opposed the progress of some of the units on their way to the mobilization grounds and took a certain toll of killed and

wounded, there was no open battle. The total killed probably did not exceed a few hundred. Accurate figures are not available.

The Liberal Italian government in Rome, which meanwhile had been looking on helplessly, then made a frantic attempt to act. It declared a state of siege at the capital, and asked the King to approve measures to deal with the rebels by force. King Victor Emmanuel had the vision to read the writing on the wall. He refused to indorse a step which he knew would lead to prolonged civil war. Then events moved rapidly. Premier Facta resigned and the King opened negotiations with Mussolini, head of the victorious revolutionary army, who was directing operations from Milan. Mussolini insisted that he be given charge of the government. The King wired him to come to Rome and appointed him prime minister.

Mussolini's first task was to make the new administration secure from the attacks of its foes. Many of the movement's positive objectives were already in the Dictator's mind, but the other need came first. The fact of the successful *coup d'état* and the sanction of the King were not of themselves sufficient to insure security. The Communists were far from beaten; the Communist is not

the type of person who gives up easily. The Liberal forces, while not taking rifles into the field openly, launched bitter volleys of subversive propaganda. It was charged that an actual counter *coup d'état* was planned. There is so much confusion regarding the swirl of events at that time, however, and so much partisan prejudice in nearly everything everyone in Italy says about his political opponents, that it is difficult to say how concrete any such project became. The Reds were a far more immediate cause for concern and the country as a whole was in an ugly mood.

During its first three years, the Fascist Revolution went through experiences typical of revolutions in their early days. It was a period of violence, filled with acts of repression, aimed to crush the power of the opposing factions and to compel respect of the new régime. In appraising the Fascist conduct during that period and even in the present period, it must be admitted that the Black Shirts' record is not entirely free from excesses and injustices. Revolution is not a gentle thing. But compared with other revolutions in history, the Fascist movement was mild. Where the Russian Communists killed hundreds of thousands, and the French kept the guillotine busy for months,

the Fascisti took a toll of victims of a few thousand only. It is reliably estimated that the total deaths on both sides would not exceed 10,000.

This was mainly due, in my opinion, to the fact that the Italian nation is made up of a softer people. Measures that would not have availed in Moscow or Paris, produced results in Rome. Instead of bullets from an executing squad, the Black Shirts gave their enemies—those they caught—doses of castor oil! And the doses were generous—half pint rations were common; some were given whole pints! The process was rarely fatal; it was nearly always effective in discouraging further resistance. This measure, grotesque as it was, proved a brilliant stroke of political shrewdness. It produced the desired result, *i.e.*, the cowing of the opposition, without drawing upon the Fascisti the stigma of blood. It made the Black Shirts' victims objects of ridicule, instead of martyrs.

The second weapon used in cowing the opposition was the Fascist stick, a slim club three feet long, loaded with lead at one end, the other end equipped with a leather loop which permitted the stick to dangle from the forearm of the bearer. With these sticks, political recalcitrants were whipped. All Fascisti originally carried these

clubs, and not infrequently made use of them. An order in 1926 forbade Fascisti to "wear" them on the streets except when specifically so instructed.

There was a certain amount of deliberate ransacking and destruction of the premises of anti-Fascisti, a feature that remains as a blotch on Fascism's record. There were a few incidents of persecution and virtual murder. The killing of Matteotti, prominent anti-Fascist deputy, by a band of Black Shirts who spirited him away in an auto, beat him to death, and finally concealed his body, has become an international scandal. But where there was one Matteotti in Italy, there were thousands in the Russian revolution. The Italian prisons were utilized to confine a number of the more aggressive anti-Fascist agitators. I know personally of one Liberal leader who was charged with having organized a plot to overthrow Mussolini, and who was in prison for nearly a year. He finally was released, and is now in Paris, sound of body but bitter. Reds who refused to yield to the persuasion of castor oil and stick were kept under lock. In Milan, I talked with several Crimson leaders who had been dodging in and out of jail for two years. All told, each had spent a little over a year inside. The courage of these irreconcilables

stirs one's admiration, whatever one's opinion of their creed. Long after all other parties had ceased to try to make their voice heard in the Italian parliament in Rome, the small band of Communist deputies regularly took their seats on the Left, regularly shouted out their disapproval, in the face of a packed Fascist chamber, and regularly made pilgrimages to a near-by hospital for repairs to bruised noses, blackened eyes, or broken bones!

During the first years, there were a few open powder-and-bullet battles of the approved revolutionary style. As late as the fall of 1925, the barricaded streets of Florence echoed with the rattle of machine-gun fire. The Ponte Vecchio, one of the most historic bridges in the world, and a Mecca for American tourist curio-seekers, was strewn with the bodies of fallen Communists and Fascisti. Reciprocal sharp-shooting bees were held on several occasions in a few other northern cities. But most of the military triumphs of Fascism were swift, determined raids in which a Red stronghold, either a town or a factory, was stormed by a band of thirty or forty Black Shirts. Usually the losses were surprisingly small. And the terror which followed was far less deadly than that which has been customary in revolutions.

As the opposition became feebler, the acts of repression decreased, both in number and severity. The necessity no longer existed.

Today, practically speaking, the days of castor oil and beatings are past. The threat remains, but it is seldom used. "Detentions" of political prisoners occasionally take place. Reds were rounded up with true Russian thoroughness after each of the attempts on Mussolini's life in 1925 and 1926. But arrests are not frequent now. The number of political offenders confined in Fascist jails is not large. In December, 1927, Mussolini announced that they totaled 676. The Fascist secret service is extending itself, but cannot be compared with the Tcheka in Russia. Acts of physical violence are frowned upon now at Rome. Fascisti are even forbidden to wear their uniforms except when on official duty.

But restoration of political tranquillity was only a small part of the problem which faced Mussolini. To appraise the nature of the social and economic difficulties which still remained, it is necessary to appreciate thoroughly the human structure and the social condition of the Italian nation at the time the Dictator seized power. These factors form the human background of the situation today and

bring into relief the reasons for certain prominent features of the Fascist program around which a great deal of controversy has turned in discussions in foreign countries.

II

ORGANIC DEFECTS OF THE NATION

ITALY is a backward country, measured by twentieth century standards. In spite of the cultural achievements of its small educated class throughout history, in art, music, and literature, the masses of the Italian population have remained unlettered and untrained, a simple, primitive folk. Despite the introduction of the wedge of modern industry into the northern quarter of the peninsula, Italy, at the end of the World War and at the beginning of the Fascist Revolution, was a country still darkened by the shadow of the Middle Ages. In many villages in the central and southern portions of the peninsula, one still can feel the atmosphere of a thousand years ago. And having spent a year in Russia, the writer believes he knows something of what the Middle Ages were like!

It is an odd coincidence that the two countries that have furnished the laboratory for the two most advanced social experiments of this century were both lands of retarded development. Russia was a place where the temper and ways of the Middle

Ages existed side by side with a few modern institutions. In Russia, the medieval predominated when Lenin and his Red soldiers stormed the Kremlin. At the end of the World War, the Italian masses were not quite so primitive as the Russian, but the difference was one of degree. Italy was a geographic part of Western Europe, and had been in closer contact with Western European ideas. Ancient Italy, of course, taught the rest of the continent its A B C's. The spark of culture with which the Roman legions ignited the latent genius of Europe, was kept burning throughout the centuries by the Italian upper classes. But it had not reached down to the lower strata of society. Roman culture, as a matter of fact, never had the social extension of which modern culture boasts. Education was never universal. It was a business of the upper and the governing cliques. In the days of the ancients, the peninsular race was of hardier stock, but the masses were always driven by a whip held in the hands of their overlords. Through the Middle Ages and the first centuries of our present era, the development of the bulk of Italy's inhabitants remained stationary, or rather went in a circle.

Meanwhile changes were going on in Northern

Europe. New political ideas were being born. A new material civilization, which originated to a great extent in the New World and spread back to Europe, took form, to change completely many of the physical and social aspects of life. For the first time, the uplifting of the lower classes was undertaken on a broad scale, and the development of all parts of society came to the fore. With the present industrial age, the social effectiveness of the nation as a whole became a deciding factor in the intense international commercial competition which developed. Social effectiveness implied education. Northern Europe and America responded to this new demand. Germany, France, the Scandinavian countries and England became industrialized; the masses became lettered. This permitted the establishment of a new political framework for the nation which included all elements of society to a degree unheard of in world history. This latter idea was carried to the furthest extent in Europe, in France, Switzerland, Denmark and England. It reached its highest development in America in the United States.

During this time, Italy, heir of Rome, lay strangely and sadly unchanged. During the Middle Ages, the Italians did not attempt even to pre-

serve their national political unity. Forgetful of common ties of language and inheritance, they split into self-centered, local principalities or self-governing cities, which alternately leagued themselves together against one another, or formed treacherous alliances with foreign powers. Florence and Pisa were traditional enemies. Two cities as close as Perugia and Assisi (now known as the birthplace of St. Francis) were bitter foes. They waged incessant wars against each other until reconciled by St. Francis himself. Thus it was that Italy became the prey first of the barbarian hordes and, centuries later, the pawn of European powers whose inhabitants were the descendants of savages once subject to the Cæsars. Austria extended its sway over a large part of the northern half of the peninsula. A Bourbon monarchy was set up in Sicily. Naples alternately flirted with France and governed itself. In the center of Italy was the Papal state of Rome, ruled over by the Pope, which spasmodically tried to bring the other Italian states under its influence.

Only the tiny principality of Piedmont, on the southern slopes of the Alps and the home of the House of Savoy, the present ruling family in Italy, refused to accept foreign domination. This little

kingdom preserved the flame of self-reliance and independence in Italy through the centuries and finally, in 1870, carried it throughout the peninsula in the form of a war of independence which threw off the Austrian yoke, and ejected the Bourbons from southern Italy. Once more the scattering cities and states were united in a single nation.

But although Neapolitans, Sicilians, Florentines and Venetians again formed one kingdom, the old sectional feelings did not disappear with the formal creation of the all-Italian state. It took the crucible of a World War to begin the process of welding the various districts together. As late as the first decade of the present century, Florentines habitually referred to Neapolitans as "foreigners." The title was sometimes attached to visitors from Genoa, a city only three hours distant by rail!

It is important to keep these features prominently in mind because of their bearing on one of the central problems confronting Mussolini when he seized power.

In 1870, when the modern Italian kingdom was created, the Liberationists set up a government that conformed in its general political structure with the democracies of Northern Europe. Objectivity requires one to add, however, that it was

a democracy in form only. The intrepid and idealistic men who built it were sincere. They believed in the soundness of political democracy—a principle which is sound when applied to a nation developed to a degree where it can use it. Unfortunately, Italy was not ready for a democracy. The masses of the population were too unlettered to take intelligent part in the conduct of a state or to exercise political discrimination. The Liberal Italian State was in advance of the political capacities of the nation.

The result was that the government deteriorated into a mere show of democracy. The machinery of administration was manned by the educated classes, who struggled among themselves for the plum of authority. The masses looked on in bewilderment, scarcely knowing what was going on. The *hoi polloi* played a rôle in affairs of state, because of the formal structure of the government, but it was a passive rôle. They were utilized by the dominant politicians to add strength to their individual positions. Under the force of some strong personality, the rabble could be moved to make a clamor that reëchoed in the halls of the parliament.

This was the mechanics of "popular" govern-

ment in Italy, broadly speaking, even as late as the beginning of the World War. The Italians always followed—or didn't follow—the lead of some single individual who had the personal magnetism and force to arrest their attention and stir their imaginations. This is true, to an extent, in any democracy. But in an undeveloped country, it is true to a measure that often makes the operation of a democratic form of government a mere going through a series of meaningless gestures. For the Fascist régime at least this much can be said: it has dispensed with this front-window dressing, and has come boldly into the open, not fearing to face political realities.

Electoral government never produced satisfactory results in Italy. Graft and corruption periodically crept into the administration. Many of the later Liberal governments were notorious for their administrative scandals. What would have been the repute of these governments if all had been published! It is an eloquent commentary that when Mussolini swept his broom through the thickly-clogged corridors of the bureaucracy, he was able to save enough money by stopping the wastage of funds through graft and inefficient methods, to pay for draining large areas of marsh land and reclaim-

ing arid regions which are now being converted into farms.

Before the Revolution, Gentile, former Fascist minister of Education, estimated the percentage of illiteracy at between 30% and 40% for the entire country. These figures represent an average, struck after allowing for the relatively low proportion of illiterates in the northern fourth of the kingdom. In many districts of southern Italy the proportion of illiterates ran as high as 60% to 70%. In isolated villages in the mountains, it reached 85%. Inability to read or write is not, of course, proof of stupidity. There is an innate shrewdness in the illiterate peasants of Russia that is often surprising. Wits and the power to read do not always go together. But inability to read does establish the political incapacity of a nation. It is the printed page that has brought political freedom. Without the ability to read, the citizen is at the mercy of unscrupulous politicians (sometimes even with it!) Without the ability to read or write, the citizen has no means of checking up on the spoken words of the political leader who appears before him. And any attempt to disregard this reality, leads to a mere farce of democracy.

Nearly half of Italy is inherently unfitted for the

electoral form of government even at present. And a large part of the rest of the population is socially and intellectually unready for intelligent exercise of the franchise.

In an economic sense, also, Italy remained backward. Northern Italy possessed an industrial center, where modern methods were employed, but most of the central and southern parts of the peninsula still clung to economic and social practices of the Middle Ages. This is one reason modern Italy is such a fascinating field of study for the sociologist. Twentieth century institutions still may be seen side by side with institutions and customs of a thousand years ago (in a neighborliness that is sometimes none too friendly). From a transcontinental train de luxe, one can step through the station door into streets filled with drowsy ox teams, donkey carts, and even drowsier peasants. Methods of agriculture used in many parts of Italy today are the methods used by our forefathers centuries ago. (The Fascist agricultural bureaus are working hard to change this.) In many districts, oxen still furnish the prevailing power of locomotion. In remote mountain villages are many thousands of people who have never seen a railroad or a movie.

In scores of Italian towns, the bulk of the industrial life is conducted according to the precepts of the Middle Ages. Petty craftsmen sit in the doors of their shops, as they did in all Europe three hundred years ago and still do in Mohammedan North Africa, pounding out little objects of commerce for the market. Tiny shops, scarcely larger than a closet, line the streets. Some of the "shops" are peddlers' carts, direct from the country. In central and southern Italy the primitive community market still flourishes as it does in Russia. I alighted from the Simplon express at Bologna one morning, and wandered through the arcaded streets of this ancient center of learning, to the market, at one side of the Cathedral (it was a Sunday morning, by the way). I could easily imagine myself back in Russia. Nowhere, save in the features of the townspeople and the soft warmth of the atmosphere, was there anything in the testimony of the senses to distinguish the scene before me from scores of similar scenes in the colorful "rinki" (markets) which used to delight me in Russia. There were the long aisles of booths, resplendent with gaudy cottons, black boots, little trinkets, silks, etc. There were the hardware booths, with their batteries of kitchen

utensils and brass heating appliances. There were grocery stands, guarded by peasant women or jolly peddlers. Like the Russian, the Italian market is an open-air department store, where anything from earrings to carts may be bought. There is no central sales organization, however. Each booth is presided over by a separate merchant. Nor is there any common scale of prices, beyond that forced upon the dealers by competition. Each customer strikes his own bargain, and woe unto the unwary! In the Italian market square, there is not so much direct barter and exchange for raw goods as there was in Russia; but this is a difference of degree. There were the same round peasant women, with 'kerchiefs over their heads, and the same slow-moving peasant husbands. They spoke a different language. The rhythm of the voices was different. There were not so many beards. But the simple country folk acted very much alike. In their eyes you met the same expression of habitual humility. I felt at home, for I loved Russia and liked the Slav peasants. I believe they have in them human material from which greatness can be hewn.

Italy has many historic markets. Verona's market is famous. Florence's hat and flower market,

presided over by the bronze Pig, is a favorite attraction for tourists. Even Rome has its "Rag market" on Wednesdays, where anything from pins to house furniture can be bought—and for any price from half to ten times the value of the objects!

In methods of sanitation, most Italian cities are still several hundred years behind those of the United States. Florence's many palaces and medieval houses are romantic, but also bathtubless, and often without any plumbing.

Italy's antiquity and quaint customs were an asset to her tourist industry, of course, but they did not help her keep pace with the modern methods of production used by her competitors. Not only were many of Italy's economic practises antiquated but the whole tempo of life in the peninsula belonged to another age. This applied to a less extent in the industrial cities of northern Italy, like Milan, where the inhabitants are more alert.

Whether it be a virtue or not, the twentieth century has quickened the rhythm of life in the countries of the world that are now pushing ahead. The extreme is to be found in the United States—preëminently in New York's mad rush. The world is moving more rapidly today than it did in

previous centuries, and expending more energy. Speed and quantity, as well as quality, have become decisive factors in the race for the world's material goods. More energy is required to keep abreast of the times. The masses of most civilized nations today are working harder than they ever did before: they are producing more. And economic energy is organizing itself in economic or national blocs, to increase its effectiveness.

Of all the great nations of the Western hemisphere, Italy was the slowest to adjust itself to this new tempo, and to heed the new voice of the times. South of the River Piave, the Latin millions continued, generally speaking, to move at the leisurely gait of the ancients. They went on "taking life easy," held to the happy doctrine of the tomorrow, worked when they felt like it, played or sang when they felt like it. Indeed, one cannot blame them too much. They have a wonderful country in which to idle. In a land like Italy, work does take the joy out of life! But the consequence of the lack of sterner habits was that Italy found herself steadily losing out in the international competition, left behind by the sturdier, more aggressive peoples of the North.

This was especially serious in view of the fact

that the Italian peninsula, blessed as it is with sunshine and beauty, was not richly endowed with natural material resources. Italy had few minerals, virtually no oil or coal. Nearly everything that the people eat and wear must be the consequence of their own efforts.

The end of the World War found the nation as a whole ill-equipped for the economic competition with Germany, France, or the United States. Part of this was due to temperament, but temperament can be harnessed after a fashion, under the force of necessity. This the Italians had not tried to do.

To make matters worse, a wave of post-war demoralization more severe than that which occurred in the other ex-belligerent lands, swept the country from the Alps to Sicily. Hard times became harder. The people commenced to lose their self-confidence.

The leaders of the Italian Communist Party were quick to see their opportunity. Bolshevism is a social phenomenon that thrives in the soil of despair. This condition seems to be a prerequisite for it. In their desperation, the Italian masses, like the Russian, began to turn towards Communism. Gaining the ear of the masses, the Reds launched a vigorous revolutionary movement.

They captured the polls in a large number of Italian cities. Socialist mayors and provincial authorities controlled many districts. Committees of Socialist workers took possession of one factory after another, until nearly all Italy's industrial bloc was in the hands of the Reds. Italy was in a fair way towards becoming a Soviet republic.

The Liberal administration, then incumbent in Rome, decided to meet the situation by "letting it work itself out." No resistance was offered. The Reds were permitted to remain in factories, on the theory that the experiment would eventually peter out of itself. "Give them enough rope and they will hang themselves." So they did, in the course of six or seven months. But they also hanged the country along with them.

Popular feeling began to rise, and the crowds continued their stampedes towards the Red banners. The Italian flag came to be hissed on the streets. In Florence, mobs attacked officers, wearing the Italian uniform, and tore off their epaulets. The answer of the feeble Liberal government to this insult was to instruct its officers to leave their rank markings at home!

The Reds gained control of the railroads, where most of the employés were Socialists. Train crews

sometimes refused to take trains from the stations if the passenger list included officers in uniforms or civil authorities. Again, the Liberal government reciprocated by ordering its uniformed henchmen to keep off the trains, when possible, to avoid trouble!

This was the state of affairs in the spring of 1922, when Mussolini, then editor of one of the papers at Milan, began to act with his black-shirted revolutionary legions.

The national problem facing Italy was organic. It was three-fold. Italy lacked unity as a nation. Provincial feeling must be erased and an all-Italian patriotism created. The country needed a radical human reorganization and rejuvenation. It needed a new functional principle. It needed to change its habits of life, to catch step with the modern march of progress, and to learn the lessons which the twentieth century was teaching other nations. And it had to free itself from the political grip of the Reds.

III

THE PHILOSOPHY OF FASCISM

SINCE early in 1926, accounts have been reaching the United States and England of Italy's rapid economic recovery. Many of these reports have been brought by American and British financiers and business men, back from visits to Rome. Material prosperity is attractive, particularly to a poor country. And considerable stress has been laid upon this aspect. It is another feature of the Mussolini régime, that has set it in a class by itself in relation to the small family of dictatorships that have come into existence recently in the backward countries of Europe.

This phase of the situation is important, but it does not touch the core of the matter. The change in Italy's material fortunes is only one of the surface signs of the presence of a new vital factor that has been injected into the country by Mussolini, a definite and (to Italy) new operating principle. Mussolini's dictatorship has manifold sides of course. It is a political administration. In a later chapter I shall describe the governmental

machinery in detail. As already pointed out, Fascism includes an economic program which is novel. But the essence of the Fascist movement lies deeper than any of these things.

From the viewpoint of Italy's development, the factor of prime importance is a new philosophy of life which Mussolini is impressing upon the people. Mussolini is striving to teach Italians a concentrated lesson in the technique of life, a lesson they needed to learn no matter what the external form of their national organization. Nations, like individuals, pass through cycles of development. Each period calls for a distinct vital training to meet its special problems. As a nation, Italy is still adolescent in development. Mussolini is trying—and succeeding to a remarkable degree—to make a man of this youth, to equip him with vital qualities which he needs in order to become an adult and to meet the problems of existence which are coming with this age.

What is this philosophy, the philosophy of Fascism? In a phrase, it is the doctrine of energy and organization. These are life principles the value of which the United States, Germany, and England long since learned to appreciate. Italy had not. Without these qualities, Italy could not expect to

compete with the more advanced nations of Europe or America on anything like equal terms. The underlying technique of life is similar in all departments of human endeavor. This is true for individuals as well as for groups of individuals. The musician, the artist, the business man, the farmer, the statesman, or the nation must attack life with determination, steadfastness, firmness and strength. Energy must be organized. It must be focussed. It must be made effective through self-discipline and clear-thinking. There must be no faltering. These principles are fundamental to human achievement, whatever the goal. They are as indispensable in private life as they are in successful social and economic activities, and mastery of these first principles is *sine qua non* for a progressive nation as well as for an ambitious individual. Without them, endeavor is either futile or at best haphazard.

Mussolini was enough of a seer to place his hand on the human heart of Italy's predicament. He realized that before the country could measure up to the position he felt it should have among the nations, the character and life outlook of the people as well as their habits must be altered. He saw the need for the country to learn the lesson of

organized effort, both in political and economic spheres, if it was to prosper.

His genius lay in his ability to translate this vision into practical force and to reduce these abstract principles to concrete and striking forms which could be understood and *felt* by the people.

In the intrinsic nature of this problem is to be found the origin of some of the current features of Fascist conduct in Italy which have occasioned so much discussion abroad. It accounts, for one thing, for the exaggerated dogmatism of the movement, for its intolerance, traits which have prejudiced many Anglo-Saxons, with their rich background of political development, against Mussolini. We have tried to measure events in Italy, unconsciously perhaps, with the yardstick of conditions in our own land.

Fascism is striving to bring to the Italian people a new way of living. It grapples with the fundamentals of existence. It is striving to cause the nation, which was disjointed, to function as a compact, organic, political and social unit. It is attempting to create a national consciousness in the place of the old sectionalism and in the place of the post-war trend toward Communism. With an eagerness akin to fanaticism, the Fascisti insist

that their new idea must have a clear field, with no distracting voice to lessen the impact of its moral drive, a drive which is the outstanding feature of Fascism as a movement today.

This latter circumstance explains, although it may not entirely excuse, Mussolini's muzzling of the opposition press. I question the advisability of some of the extreme measures to which he has resorted. I do not think that all he has done is necessary. But having lived in Italy, I can understand the motives behind these moves. The Italian press cannot be compared with the press in Anglo-Saxon countries, either in tone or deportment. Latin newspapers are passionately partisan, prejudiced and vitriolic. Little, if any, effort is made to be fair to a political adversary. Vituperation on every occasion is the rule. An opposition press, if it existed today in Italy, would not be content with proclaiming to its readers that it disapproved of the policies of the present régime. It would shout that the Fascisti were crooks and traitors who were seeking to exploit the nation for their selfish ends. This is the Italian method. It is the normal campaign technique.

A prominent Fascista in Florence in a conversation put the government's case thus: "The Fascist

administration looks upon itself as a schoolmaster, whose duty is to instill new ideals and new ideas into the minds and hearts of his charges. We cannot allow the opposition to set up a counter-clamor which would only confuse the people. The masses of our nation are not sufficiently developed to use discrimination. What would you think of a school teacher who allowed some other person to stand in the back of the class-room and cry: 'Don't pay any attention! Don't believe a word he says! He's a crook, trying to deceive you.'"

This circumstance colors, unfortunately, Mussolini's attitude toward the foreign press. It has resulted in the imposition of a strict censorship on the work of foreign correspondents in Italy, a censorship that is actually as injurious to the interests of Fascist Italy as it is obnoxious to the foreign writers stationed in Rome. The existence of this "gag" on correspondents has created a very bad impression abroad and accentuated the suspicion with which the rest of the world looked upon Italy. This state of affairs is especially unhappy now when conditions have advanced to a point where the Fascisti finally have a strong case to present.

But to return to the Fascist movement itself: In the success of the moral or spiritual drive just

referred to, is to be found the key to Italy's material advance since the end of 1925. And it is this feature of Fascism that presents the prime value of the movement to Italy, a value that persists irrespective of the merits or demerits of other aspects of the dictatorship. Here, Mussolini is undertaking a task that needed to be done no matter what else was done or what form of government was created.

Fascism is a glorified Boy Scout movement for adults, organized on a national scale. It is a much glorified Boy Scout movement, it is true, and the black-shirted "scout masters" have sometimes, figuratively speaking, taken the initiate by the scruff of the neck to get him to do what they thought he should. As one party chief in Rome expressed it to me: "Fascism makes people do what is good for them, even if they can't always see that it is!"

Mussolini is trying to inculcate into the adolescent Italian nation the same moral traits the Boy Scout movement in our country aims to instill into our youth, traits which are the raw stuff of which prowess is made. In every hamlet and town from the Alps to the tip of Sicily, he is drilling into the people the necessity of discipline, self-mastery, stick-to-it-iveness, qualities in which the Latins

are temperamentally deficient. He is preaching the need of unremitting work and habits of industry. The Italians are naturally lazy, to put it bluntly. They lack organization in their personal lives. They are the most unpunctual folk in Europe. Not even the Russians excel them in this respect. Mussolini is insisting on punctuality among employ  s of the government. It was a terrible shock to the civil service classes in Rome when the word went out that clerks must report for work *on time*. And he is strongly urging it as a principle in all walks of life.

To overcome the old sectional rivalry and provincialism, he is shouting an almost exaggerated message of loyalty to the state as a whole. He is telling Venetians, Florentines, and Sicilians that they are now only Italians, and that they must work together as citizens of the common state.

Mussolini personally is so charged with this latter idea that he is trying to carry it into all phases of the country's political, economic and social activities. His conception of the nation is that of an indivisible organism, all its parts harmonizing in a common scheme. From this concept spring all Fascist economic and political theories.

The task he has taken upon himself, none other

than that of changing the character of a nation, is colossal, and fascinating for the observer to watch. It would stagger a man with less courage.

One of the best illustrations of the man's insight is the attention he is giving to the children and youth of the country. It is as if he realized that about all that could be done with the adults was to wake them up, change their habits a trifle, and make them toe the line. But with the children, there is a chance to mold the soul. So Fascism takes the youngsters in tutelage from the kindergarten age up. The Balilli, the Junior Fascisti, form one of the most picturesque and enthusiastic sections of the movement, including youths of from six to fifteen years. Next come the Avanguardisti, composed of youths above fifteen who are preparing to enter the Fascist Party when of age.

This junior movement has been handled effectively. The doctrines of the parent order are presented in a form that is both simple and striking. The children have been organized in battalions like the regular Fascisti. These junior cohorts always occupy a prominent place in public demonstrations. They are drilled much as the Boy Scouts are drilled in America. And the youngsters' imaginations have responded. They

have carried much of the formal paraphernalia of the movement into daily life and play. They have eagerly seized upon the famous Roman salute. They delight in giving it on all possible occasions. In one of the tourist cars which the American Express now operates all over the country I once motored from Rome to Florence. We passed over the picturesque "hill route," a road that winds along the top of Italy's mid-peninsular mountain range, cutting through many ancient cities and villages. Literally all along the line, in the streets of the towns and villages, and on the country road between them, little children, shouting gleefully at us as we passed, gave us the Fascist salute. Their eyes sparkled when we responded.

The methods by means of which Mussolini is imposing the doctrines of Fascism on the country as a whole stand out strikingly against the conventional grayness of life in most parts of the Continent. It is a process that is absorbing to witness. Knowing the nature of his people, Mussolini is dramatizing this essentially ethical process in a manner that compels attention. He has made abstract principles concrete and physical. He is utilizing the Latin love of the theatrical. He is trying to re-awaken in Italians an active pride in

the deeds of their ancestors, the Romans. Sometimes he overdoes this last to a point where no little uneasiness is caused in other capitals of Europe.

All departments of national life are being dramatized. The old Roman salute (the right arm extended horizontally from the shoulder) has been re-introduced into official life as a formal hailing. Every civil service employé in a government or municipal office is required to give it as a salute to all visitors as they come through the door. Party members use it to salute superior party officials (like soldiers, or Boy Scouts, whichever figure you prefer, when they meet). Civilians often salute the flag thus, as it passes in a street procession.

During the early stages of the process of arousing the nation to action, Italy became a land of processions and public spectacles. Being a "land of the fiesta," Italy was peculiarly adapted to this. Every week could boast of at least one "saint's day," sometimes more. To the foreigner living in Italy, it seemed as if nearly all of these were utilized for some purpose of public demonstration, great or small. Every national anniversary was exploited to the utmost, to bring out hordes of marching Fascisti.

I recall vividly my first celebration of the "birthday of Fascism," in Florence in the spring of 1926. It seemed as if the entire province of Tuscany was marching through the streets of the city. The program began with an impressive drill of the Black Shirt militia in the morning in the central square where Savonarola was burned. It lasted, almost continuously, until evening. I was reminded of the great public demonstrations in Russia which the Bolsheviki learned to stage. But here, the thousands were marching, not by order of their rulers, but because they wanted to. For two hours that afternoon, I sat at a table in the Piazza Victor Emmanuel. Battalion after battalion of party members, Ballili, and affiliated societies kept passing, seemingly without end. The atmosphere was charged with enthusiasm. Not even the spectacle of New York's millions, as they marched in the great patriotic demonstrations of the spring of 1917, was more impressive. The ovation given Mussolini at Genoa, two months later, was immensely theatrical. In magnitude, it surpassed the reception given Marshal Joffre in New York when he visited America shortly after we entered the war. The military review on a boulevard west of Rome, on the King's birthday that

year, was almost as colorful a pageant as one could see in London (and the British are past-masters in the art of pageantry).

These monster public demonstrations are less frequent now. The original need for them has passed. In 1927, Mussolini issued a decree temporarily abolishing all holidays except those falling on a Sunday. The object stated was "to economize working time and to prevent wastage of national energy." But whenever the Fascisti want to arrange a "show," it invariably is well done. And while the wholesale schedule of processions has been curtailed, the dramatization method has not been abandoned. At every turn Mussolini takes pains to give his people substantial physical reminders of the existence and of the wishes of the government. The medieval walls of Italy's ancient cities are bright with green, yellow or brown posters, admonishing the citizens to some public duty, preaching some moral or patriotic sermon, or calling upon the Fascisti themselves to meet some national situation that is arising. Wherever the Fascisti have gone, and that is everywhere, they have left striking physical marks of their presence, in the form of flags, bulletin-boards, placards with the official insignia of the party (the

Roman fasces) and chalk-writing on the walls (usually the conventional "W Mussolini," the "W" being a combination of the two "v's" in viva). Often the effect calls to mind the appearance of an American college town, after a football victory. In Rome, in Sicily, in the Upper Adige, in fact everywhere these labels of the Black Shirts are to be found, adorning the ruins of classic buildings and historic walls.

The force of music has been exploited to the utmost. An interesting book could be written on the influence of music on man's political, social and economic activities. Music is one of the staunchest allies of governments in all lands. Without it, wars would be infinitely more difficult to engineer. Sousa did almost as much as President Wilson to transform the pacific American people into a nation of warriors during 1917 and 1918. Music helped to sustain innumerable tired hearts, both in Europe and America—to wit, "Tipperary," "Over There," or to go back further, the wonderful marching songs of our American Civil War. Music coöperated in the French revolution, in the spirit of the Marseillaise, and in the great upheaval in Russia in the stirring "Internazionale." The Italian Fascist Revolution has its Giovinezza

(pronounced, Jo-vee-netza), one of the most stirring of them all. Its nearest American sister aria is "Dixie." It has much of the swing of the famous southern song. Translated, the title means "Youth." The words are an appeal to the blood of youth and the joy of living. Here is one verse:

"It's while we're young, oh, while we're young
(For to be young is to be strong)
That our beauty's at the spring.
And Fascismo is the song
Of the nation's liberty."

It was sung on the march from Rome, and it has been reëchoing throughout Italy ever since. The Italians are naturally a songful people. The rhythm and intervals of Giovinezza have caught their fancy and stirred their imaginations. One hears it almost continuously, it seems, all over Italy. Street urchins whistle it as they play. Delivery boys sing or whistle it as they cycle about town with their merchandise. Bands of returning serenaders, walking four or five abreast in the middle of the street in the evenings, hum it rhythmically, or strum it out on their mandolins. And on any public occasion, the bands play nothing else.

All that can be done is done to make the cause of the new régime and the re-vitalizing of the country as colorful, appealing, and stirring as possible.

And last, but not least, Mussolini himself is a dramatic figure.

IV

THE BLACK SHIRTS AND HOW THEY CONTROL ITALY

THE Fascist Party is not a political party in the Anglo-Saxon sense of the word. It is a political and military order, like the Russian Communist Party. It does not begin to include all who favor or support the doctrines of the administration, as does the typical political party in the European or American democracies. Its members are recruited from the general body of Fascist sympathizers. They are admitted into the closed ranks of the party only after they have survived a severe test which scrutinizes both their private life and public behavior and examines their fitness to assume the responsibilities of party membership.

The name Fascist comes from the Italian word "fasciare" (pronounced fah-shah-ray) which means to bind together. Mussolini took his inspiration for the expression from the "fasces" which in the days of the Romans were the symbol of the magistrates' powers over life and death. The fasces were borne by the lictors who preceded

the magistrates as a sign of the latter's authority when they entered court. Mussolini seized upon this ancient symbol as the badge of the Fascist Party. It may be seen everywhere in Italy today: on bill-boards, party banners, on pins in the button-holes of party men, and on official party stationery. "Like the bundles of sticks, the Fascisti are bound tightly together," Mussolini says, "for the glory of Italy." The party color, black, came from the regimental color of a famous Alpine regiment which distinguished itself in the World War.

The Fascist "legions" are culled from all classes of society. In its membership, the party is ultra-democratic. It includes bankers and shoeblacks, small shopkeepers and wealthy business men, townspeople and a few peasants.

A glance at nearly any Fascist street parade will demonstrate this impressively. The spectator finds himself often surprised that such a seemingly heterogeneous group could hold together so tightly, even work together as a ruling clique. The great majority of the marchers one sees are young men—easily three-fourths. Fascism is a movement of young men. It originally was almost entirely that. During 1926, the order was enlarged to include a few older men and a number

of the middle aged. Above neat gray-green Fascist uniforms (the coat and trousers are gray-green, the shirt and fez black), a few gray beards now break the juvenile monotony of things. The processions are often odd mixtures of humanity. A fat, black-mustached restaurant owner puffs along, arms swinging, beside a lean, ascetic-looking college professor. A youth may flank his father, or some other youth's father. A line of erect, well-groomed cadets may follow on the heels of a squad of very civilian-looking clerks, who are enjoying a half day's patriotic release from their counters.

As one sees procession after procession, however, and goes from one party headquarters to another in different regions, one discovers in the legions a striking oneness of bearing and attitude.

One discovers that despite the party's disregard for caste, the Fascisti are a distinct type of human being.

They are the vital, or effective elements of society, the men of outstanding virility. Life has shown that the quality of leadership (while more frequently encouraged by training and circumstances in the so-called ruling classes) is not a matter of birth. It is a psychic quality, that occurs sometimes in one social grade, sometimes in

another. Wherever it develops, the individuals possessing it are leaders in their own spheres, by virtue of their superior vitality, whether their lives belong to the factory, shop or drawing-room.

In the case of Fascism, it is as if Mussolini and his lieutenants had made a cross-section of all classes and social groups, had picked out the individuals of above-the-average energy, wherever found, and taken them to infuse them with the spirit of Fascism and to train them in the Fascist duties. This result in human fiber is a concrete human aspect of the movement. It explains in a large measure its effectiveness.

There is a saying in Italy that you can spot a Fascista on the street by the way he walks. He walks "as if he knew where he was going!" To any one who knows the streets of Italian cities and the easy-going seemingly aimless crowds that pass along them, this will tell a story.

Fervent young party members insist they can spot a fellow Fascista by looking into his eyes, by the fire they see in them. This is a more poetic way of putting it, and is a trifle exaggerated. There are not a few Italians outside the ranks of Fascism who also have fire in their eyes. People of this type always have the sparkle of vitality and

determination. But the remark illustrates the point.

In this sense, the Fascisti are kindred spirits, however remote their social origin.

The other attributes which an Italian must have to gain admittance into Mussolini's legions are not always, probably, those an Anglo-Saxon moralist might select. Judging from what I saw and heard while I was in Italy, the majority are men of above-the-average moral qualities, and self-respect. But not all are paragons of virtue, by any means. A number unquestionably are in the party for reasons of opportunism. Membership carries certain material advantages. It is necessary to secure any good government job. Fascisti receive reductions in railway fares. They are enabled to sip the joys of authority over their fellows, and enjoy positions of prominence in their community. Mussolini is trying to weed these opportunists out, but they constitute a definite section in Fascism.

The party does, however, insist on strictest loyalty from its members, the loyalty an army commander expects from his soldiers, and an at least surface adherence to Fascist principles. And judging from what I saw, the majority are conscientious in their allegiance. Among the younger

members there is a true crusade spirit. The so-called "spirit of Fascism" exists in a very real sense in the party, and is a strong driving force.

Mussolini has succeeded in infusing the movement with a sustained atmosphere of enthusiasm that is remarkable. I first encountered this spirit in the person of a young law student in Florence, the son of a Fascist general. I had arrived in Italy from England only two weeks before. I was invited to attend a lecture at the Geographic Institute, to meet Alessandro. Alessandro was the first "live Fascista" I had had the opportunity to examine at close range, and I was rather curious. He proved to be a probationer, but one who was expecting his "papers" soon. He explained with a flash in his eye that he was "already a Fascista in spirit," even if not yet regularly admitted. He got his credentials a short time afterward. He came to our *pensione* when they arrived, bubbling over with happiness. With that delightful demonstrativeness of the Latins, he waved his arm over his head as he entered the room and waited, with the attitude of a man who has just bought a fine new suit of clothes, to see if we could spot the tri-colored party badge in his coat lapel. We did—

and ordered Asti Spumante. You see, it was an event!

I thought it might be individual with 'Sandro at the time. I found, as I came to know Fascist Italy, that it was an attitude that was epidemic among the Black Shirts. As I moved about the country, I encountered the same spirit in scores of other young party men. It was almost the rule. Nearly every one who visits Italy today is impressed with the personal pride the Fascisti take in the party and in their connection with it. This is as true in the south as in the north, and in headquarters in villages as in the cities. The striking part of it is that it is an enthusiasm that lasts.

On a train for Rome, seven months later, I happened to share a table in the dining car with a young man of perhaps thirty. I noticed the badge in his lapel, and turned the conversation to Fascism. I knew by that time what reaction to expect, and it came. That was the beginning of a pleasant acquaintance. It developed that he had been one of the first Black Shirts, had taken part in the march on Rome, and had been active in the party ever since. In civilian life, he was the Rome agent of a large American oil company. In Fascism, he was a "district drill master." He ex-

plained that he devoted three evenings every week of his busy life to drilling and instructing Fascist recruits in one of the armories. He took as much pride in the achievements of the régime as if he had been the author of it.

On my way back from Africa, our ship put in at the dingy old port of Civitavecchia, an ancient harbor, but possessed of no other tangible virtue that a visitor could see. After wandering about in the town, I stepped into a small clothing shop, in search of a necktie. I observed that the proprietor wore a pin, and I mentioned that I was a newspaper correspondent. He was all activity, instantly. Five minutes later, he had summoned the district chief to the store and for twenty minutes I was the center of a miniature political rally. All were as interested in everything pertaining to Fascism as they might have been in their own personal affairs. The same was true of the party center at Naples, and of many others. In Naples, I recall, there were ten or a dozen party lieutenants, in discussion, in the room when I entered. It was like coming into a college fraternity gathering. Yet with all the effervescence, there was a spirit of determination and earnestness that was impressive.

Fascism is very serious, for all its hurrahing. Once inside the party, members are required to watch their step. There is no lack of strict reminders of the responsibility of the undertaking. Failure to live up to the standards of the party, especially suspicion of disloyalty, will bring ejection when detected. The penalty is carried into effect occasionally; and when it is, little pity is shown. When I visited Pisa, the home of the Leaning Tower, the walls of store buildings all the way down the principal street were gaudy with huge green posters, printed in black, announcing the expulsion from the party of a Fascista nicknamed "Darioski," who, it was explained, had been convicted of practises that "disgraced Fascism" and made him "a renegade among his former comrades."

This great political order today numbers about 960,000 men. Each one of these is pledged to defend the cause of Fascism, the throne, and Italy with his life, if necessary. The entire party can be called to arms in case of emergency. All party members have army rifles.

Of the 960,000, about 200,000 are always mobilized, to serve as a super police force throughout the country. (They are in addition to the

regular civil police). The remaining 760,000 form a reserve that performs valuable services for the party in civilian life. Add to this, Italy's regular national army and constabulary, including colonial forces which total about 250,000 (I am quoting a rough estimate by General Vacchelli, head of the War College), and it will be seen that Mussolini could muster a total force of more than a million fighters.

The party's functions are varied. It is the sinews of the government throughout the country, both in civil and military senses. It forms a great human point of contact between the central administration and the country. It mans the governmental bureaucratic machinery, furnishing "key men" for all posts of importance. In fact, nearly all the ordinary government employés are Fascisti now.

The party is organized like an army. To bring the past back more vividly, Mussolini took as his pattern the structure of the Roman legions. The old Roman "century," a company of a hundred men, with a "centurion" in command, is the basic unit.

In a practical way, however, and in many of its methods of controlling the country (different as

are the objectives of the two bodies) the Fascist Party is modeled on a plan identical to that of the Russian Communist Party. Part of this may be because this is the most effective scheme for a revolutionary body; part is doubtless due to Mussolini's early training as a Socialist; for Mussolini was brought up on the tactics of Lenin. The two dictators knew each other personally when both were in Switzerland years ago.

This body of men serves first of all as a great stabilizing influence in all walks of life. By virtue of his party connection, each Fascista considers himself a person of some responsibility in the sphere in which he moves. The Fascisti are indefatigable propagandists. Their cumulative effect on public morale is considerable.

Throughout Italy the Fascist militia—distinguishable from the regular army by their black fez—serve a practical function as overseers, so to speak, of public activities. It is these grim sentinels who have made the railways run on time since 1925—a miracle in Italy! Mussolini originally put one or two uniformed militiamen on every train in the country. Now conditions have improved so that it has been possible to remove most of them from all except the main line trains. Black-shirted

militia cleaned up Italy's railroad stations, formerly scenes of utmost confusion (as many stations still are in France) at the time of a train's departure. They taught the crowds to behave in an orderly fashion, and made the station routine run smoothly for the first time, probably, in Italian history. One or two of these individuals may still be seen in each railroad station in Italy. If there is the least sign of confusion, they are promptly on the spot. If a passenger becomes involved in an argument with a fruit vender, one of the disputants eventually summons a Black Shirt to adjust the controversy. (I saw this happen a number of times.)

The party also, of course, has the job of actually governing the country. Pending the restoration of popular elections, the Fascist Party is the only government in Italy. The civil bureaucracy exists, but only as an instrument in its hands.

At the top of the political pyramid is the Fascist Grand Council, a "coördinating" body the object of which is to synchronize all party, governmental and national activities. Originally this body was a purely advisory gathering of all the prominent men in the party. The sessions took place in Rome under the chairmanship of the premier, the idea

being to discuss, in roundtable fashion, various current national problems, and to suggest action by the government.

In 1928, it was decided to incorporate the Grand Council in the formal structure of the Fascist state, extending its province to include any political, social, economic or constitutional question arising in the Italian kingdom. The Council was even to be "consulted" on questions involving the delimitation of the powers of the premier and the succession to the throne. A law was drafted giving it constitutional standing and permanently fixing and enlarging its personnel. The Council has an impressive membership, including the premier, the presidents of the Chamber and Senate, the secretary of the Fascist Party (who is vice-president of the Council), the commander of the Militia, the "quadrumvirs" of the March on Rome, cabinet ministers who have resigned since 1922 and who have been members of the government for five years, the directorate of the Fascist Party, the under-secretaries of the ministries, and the presidents of the Fascist Cultural Institute, of the confederations of Labor, Capital, Agriculture, etc. The members of this unusual body, which has no

parallel in modern Europe or America, are appointed by the Crown, who will act on the "advisement" of the prime minister.

In the day-by-day administration of the provinces, the party is supreme.

S. Marchi, "commissioner" for the province of Tuscany, in a conversation with me, thus described the administrative plan of control:

"Italy has been divided into a number of districts. A Fascista is in charge of each district. He is solely and directly responsible to Rome for everything that happens in his territory. He is above all municipal and provincial authorities. He uses the existing machinery, but the mayors of the towns and cities (appointed from Rome) are under him. They do what he says; if they don't, they go. Most of them are Fascisti, anyway.

"Sometimes an administrative emergency arises, and it is necessary to place a special party 'commissioner' in charge of a larger area. I, for instance, am in control not only of Florence and its environs, but of the whole province of Tuscany. All branches of city and provincial government and police forces are answerable to me. If anything goes wrong in Tuscany, I have to answer to Mussolini. I'm the boss here!"

Marchi was a young man—in his thirties. He was clean-shaven, keen, energetic, with a sense of reality and all the outer signs of executive drive. I understood why Mussolini had put him where he was. Tuscany had had the reputation of being one of the worst administered regions in Italy. He was a man who could get results. He had a reputation for being rather ruthless, I learned. He was absolutely frank, made no attempt to disguise anything.

In moving about the country, I met many of these district chiefs, "little kings" the people call them. All were young. The man in charge of Naples seemed not over 30. The chief at Pompeii was still in his twenties, I should judge. All were clean-cut and above-the-average men.

In every party headquarters, I felt the warmth of the Fascist spirit.

In Rome, I had an apartment in a medieval tower on the floor directly above the district headquarters. The hall was noisy every night. Sometimes it was a dance; again, a party council. Several evening, "party tribunals" met to hear disputes between party members and their landlords, arising from the new lodging regulations. Both

sides were heard, and usually an agreement effected.

While Fascism is necessarily a man's affair, provision was made in 1926 for a certain number of feminine Fascisti. Mussolini agreed to a woman's legion rather reluctantly, it is said. The number of women in the movement is not large, however, compared to the total membership. In January, 1928, the total number was estimated at 76,000.

The children's legions, however, are very large and occupy a place of great importance in Mussolini's eyes. Balilli, the title of the Junior Fascisti, derives from the name of the boy patriot who threw the first stone in Italy's war of freedom from Austria. The fourteen-year-old lad, it is said, hurled a projectile at one of the Austrian officials, and lost his life as a penalty. In their uniforms, consisting of black shirts and white knee trousers, the Balilli seldom fail to step into the center of the picture whenever there is a public demonstration. Mussolini believes that Italy's hope lies with the coming generations.

V

THE FASCIST ECONOMIC STATE

IN venturing now to examine the framework of the Fascist economic state, we come to the working structure into which Mussolini has attempted to crowd all his ideas of the nation as an organism. Through the instrumentality of the Fascist Party and the various other popular agencies of education which the Dictator is using, Mussolini is striving, as we have seen, to bring to the Italian people a new vision of life, change their habits and character, and give the nation a consciousness of its national soul. But life is both form and spirit. The two must go together if a reform is to be effective. In creating what has been called the "Fascist Guild State" (sometimes termed the Fascist Corporate State), Mussolini has undertaken to fashion a new body exterior, a new social and economic mold for the country, to give vital force to his theories of statehood.

As was to be expected, the underlying principle of the entire structure is the idea of the organic indivisibility of the nation. I might almost say,

the concept of the nation as a personality. Mussolini never thinks of the state except as a unit. To him, the nation's industrial, political and even intellectual life are simply different aspects of its existence as an organism. One complements the others. Each is a phase of the whole. Each department must furnish its contribution to the common weal. Mussolini maintains that the nation is an actual synthesis of the economic, social and political interests of its members in their relations with the rest of the world, and that one of the great weaknesses of the prevalent concept of statehood in other parts of Europe is its failure to bind these departments sufficiently closely together. The Fascist conceives the state as a great personality, a synthesis of individual personalities, if you will, bound together by common interests as opposed to the balance of the world, which is made up of similar giant national units. This being the case, it is more than imperative, Mussolini reasons, that all the various departmental activities of the unit—economic, political, social—be carefully coördinated, each to perform its separate function in the general process of state life, and each to operate smoothly in its contacts with other portions. A parallel might be found in the human body, with

its highly developed but perfectly coördinating systems of circulation, digestion, and nervous control, each separate in itself but an indivisible part of the whole organism.

The state being thus all-dominant, it follows that the form of national organization hold the people closely together, both economically and politically, enable the nation to focus its national aspirations, and above all, furnish a means whereby the functioning of the various parts of the state can be coördinated and regulated as a unit.

The result of Mussolini's efforts in this direction forms as I have already said, the most interesting experiment in social economics Western Europe has seen since the advent of our present industrial era. It is a combination of forms and ideas, many of which have been borrowed from other economic systems or social programs. Some of its functional principles have been lifted in toto from the American business world. It has sometimes been remarked that the Fascist State is the first attempt of modern times to run an entire nation as a business proposition, according to the principles which any intelligent American business executive automatically applies to the organization under his control. But Mussolini's new state is more than a

vast business organism. One of its most prominent features was purloined, almost intact, from an economic system which had wide prevalence on the European Continent during the Middle Ages, *i.e.*, "Guild Socialism." It is important not to confuse the Guild Socialism of the Middle Ages with modern Marxian Socialism. Guild Socialism made no attack on private property or the private management of industry. Soviet Russia, anathema that it is in "anti-Socialist" Fascist Italy, has contributed several ideas of organization.

To begin with the points of similarity with so-called capitalist concepts, the Fascist credo makes no attack on the principle of private property or the management of industry by private capital, a feature which it is important to keep in mind. This is the reason the propertied classes in Italy and the conservatives have generally lent their loyalty to the new régime. They considered Mussolini as a bulwark of defense of the right of private property against the onslaughts made upon it by the Reds, who challenged the entire institution of private holdings. This retention of private property as the basis of the economic alignment also accounts for the fact that the Fascist experiment has not interfered with business or upset the country eco-

nomically as the Marxian Socialist venture did so disastrously in Soviet Russia. These points being covered, one reaches the end of the "conservative" features of the Fascist State, and enters the realm of the new.

To synchronize and coördinate all the economic activities of the people, Mussolini has undertaken to organize the entire nation in a system of governmentally controlled guilds, or "syndicates" (to use the Italian word). It is the second large-scale attempt of modern times to mobilize a nation in what amounts to an application of military organization to the field of economics. In Soviet Russia, the Bolsheviki failed in their effort to herd the Russian nation into a system of unions, operating in the highly centralized Communist state. Mussolini's attempt differs in many of its aims. The idea is similar, however, in the respect that both are designed to mobilize all the economic forces of the nation in a national network of unions. In Italy, the scheme is designed to embrace every department of human enterprise. It includes the employing classes as well as the employed, separate unions being provided for each. There are guilds for manual laborers and for their employers, guilds for mechanics and factory

owners, for artists, store clerks, merchants, school teachers, farmers and farm hands, bankers and bank clerks, lawyers and civil service employ  s, business men as well as individual shopkeepers. To paraphrase the adage, there is a guild for everybody and everybody is expected to be in a guild. Although the system has not yet been extended to every phase of life—some fields being inherently more difficult to organize than others—it is Mussolini's intention that ultimately every Italian be a member of some guild, and perform his economic duties in the nation as a member of this union. Each guild is organized on a national basis, a circumstance which is to be utilized as the new basis for the nation's political life when parliamentary elections are restored.

The guilds thus serve first as a convenient point of contact between the individual and the central administration at Rome. They constitute an agency through which the head of the government, automatically ex-officio head of the guild system, can influence the conduct of the nation and at the same time exert a regulatory control over the field of commerce and industry, a control which has an extremely important application in the field of industry, as I shall explain presently. They fur-

nish a handy instrument whereby the government can disseminate all forms of national propaganda. Illustrative of this is the extensive use that has been made of the farm guilds (which have supplanted the old farm coöperative societies) in the intensive educational campaign now in progress to introduce more advanced agricultural methods into the backward districts.

In the cities, many portions of the population have already been enrolled in the guild system. But it is in the field of industry that the system has reached its greatest development up to the present, a field in which it is already playing an essential rôle, having supplanted the previously existing labor unions. Here the operation of the system may be studied most comprehensively.

Virtually all of Italy's industrial field has now been reorganized on the new basis. In the labor market, the Fascist unions enjoy a monopoly, maintaining a virtual closed shop. While the closed shop feature is not an explicit proviso of the law, the practical working of the plan produces this result. All collective bargaining for labor is done through the Fascist bodies. They have the sole right to represent labor in disputes between employers and employes which may be tried before

the labor tribunals, which will be described in a moment. While the law theoretically leaves the worker free to remain outside his trade guild if he prefers, circumstances of life make it highly undesirable for him to avail himself of this privilege. The form of economic isolation to which non-membership exposes him is not unlike the status of the non-union worker in a closed shop labor market in America.

In the field of industry, the guild system has been built around a noteworthy piece of machinery designed to handle the old and troublesome question of conflicts between capital and labor, by applying to the realm of economics the precepts of jurisprudence which already have been applied by the civilized world to disputes between individuals or groups of individuals in ordinary civil life. By an edict originally issued early in the summer of 1926 and made a permanent part of the constitution in 1927 (the famous "charter of Labor"¹), a national system of industrial courts was created, with jurisdiction over disagreements of any nature arising between employers and employés. The tribunals were grouped in two tiers—inferior or institutional tribunals, one to each large factory or

¹ See appendix for text of the Labor Charter.

productive unit, and superior or regional tribunals of final appeal, the verdicts of which are final.

This system of courts has authority over all questions of wages, hours, working conditions, in fact any phase of the human conduct of the factory or workshop. In each factory is one of the courts, or arbitration committees, manned by three magistrates: one representing labor, one appointed by the employers; the third, the president, is named by the Italian government. The superior courts are organized on the same plan. These tribunals have authority over both capital and labor. One of Mussolini's boasts is that in the Fascist state labor and capital are on an equal footing, each being left supreme in his own sphere, with the government acting as arbiter in cases of disagreements between the two. The law imposes restraints on capital as well as labor. The industrial tribunals have jurisdiction over the management in all matters directly affecting the employés. For instance, an employer can not suddenly discharge a number of workmen without due cause. He must go before the committee in his plant and demonstrate to its satisfaction that the reduction of staff is justifiable. He must show, perhaps, that his business has decreased sufficiently to demand

the retrenchment. If other considerations exist, such as the introduction of new machinery which alters his needs for manual workmen, this also must be established to the satisfaction of the tribunal.

There is no interference in the management of industry unless the exercise of this prerogative interferes with the welfare of other groups. On the other hand, labor is free to conduct its own collective bargaining operations and look after its affairs as it deems best, provided that in so doing it does not obstruct the interests of the nation as a whole.

On this latter ground, strikes are prohibited, the theory being that no one group of society has a right to sacrifice the interests of all other groups by causing a general stoppage of production. Having provided a mechanism to handle difficulties between capital and labor, and having created a system of courts where justice may be obtained, Mussolini forbids either capital or labor to resort to direct action. The government, he maintains, has the duty to preserve peace in the field of industry as well as elsewhere; it will guarantee to both factors in production that justice shall be obtained.

From the point of view of the rest of the world,

this phase of the Fascist program is unquestionably the feature of outstanding importance. It presents an idea that is universal and international in nature. It is an attempt to get at the heart of a problem world-wide (and not merely Italian) in scope. If the experiment is able to survive the test of time—and an economic venture of this character must have more than a few years in which to demonstrate itself one way or the other—this phase of Fascism is likely to leave a lasting imprint on world economic history. It may conceivably be a turning point in the painful struggle between capital and labor that has so often transformed society into a battleground.

Compulsory arbitration of labor disputes has been a subject of controversy in many countries of the world for several decades. Several attempts have been made in Europe and America to apply the theory on a limited scale. The state of Kansas has had a compulsory arbitration law on its statute books for more than a half decade, and the legal machinery for its enforcement still exists at the state capital in Topeka. But the results have not been overly satisfactory. A more successful venture has been made in Australia. In Fascist Italy, the world now has an opportunity to watch the

first attempt at an organic application of the scheme to an entire nation that has been undertaken in the Western Hemisphere.^{1a}

Organized labor throughout the Occident has hitherto combated the idea with all its force. Labor has maintained that however ideal in theory, the practical operation of such a project would be injurious to the interests of the workingman. Labor has insisted that it could not trust the judges. Assuming that the courts would be manned by justices recruited from the upper classes, labor has insisted that the judges could not be expected to put aside class prejudice.

It is noteworthy that in Italy labor as a body has fallen in with Mussolini's project of compulsory arbitration since its first inauguration. In the debate in Parliament which preceded the passage of the project, according to Edmondo Rossoni, na-

¹ In 1923, Germany passed a law creating arbitration committees, with authority to intervene to try to effect conciliation in labor disputes. The committees had the power to enforce their decisions arbitrarily, if public interest demanded. The results of the system have not been very satisfactory, however. In 1924, out of 3,559 cases in which compulsory sentences were imposed, 1,070 escaped penalty.

Norway enacted a labor arbitration law in 1916 but the scheme has not operated too well on account of lack of discipline of the unions.

The Australian project, dating from 1920, has produced better results, although even here the system has not been made as all-inclusive as in Italy.

tional head of the Fascist trade guilds and underminister of labor under Mussolini, the opposition to the measure, what there was, came from the side of the employers. The higher officials of labor favored the plan. Some of the bigger employers feared it because of the restrictions it placed upon them, and because they thought that the tribunals created by the measure would be inclined to be more friendly to labor. Rossoni said the rank and file of Italian labor approved the plan, principally because it did away with strikes, a feature from which they had previously suffered grievously. In the days of the old dispensation, according to Rossoni, Italy lost more from strikes than any other Continental country. He affirmed that the average workingman in the peninsula lost fully twice as much working time and pay on this account as did laborers in other lands.

The only outspoken opposition from the side of labor came from the Communistic groups, an opposition which has continued up to the present. But this element, as previously pointed out, is not sufficiently large or influential to offer serious impediment to the operation of the plan. As a whole, Italian labor seems not ill-pleased. It has fallen in line with the project without noticeable protest.

In fact, as I went about the peninsula, chatting with workmen and labor leaders in various parts of the country, I gained the impression that the general attitude was distinctly favorable.

As this book goes to press, the scheme has been in operation for nearly two years. It has adjusted a number of disputes between employers and employés, including cases which under normal circumstances would have precipitated strikes or lock-outs. It has introduced into the leadership of labor a new attitude toward the general process of production. In this connection, it should be remarked, of course, that all the present leaders of labor in Italy are Fascisti, and consequently subject to the discipline of the Fascist Party. The new labor project being a Fascist idea, they naturally would be inclined to keep step. With the national disciplinary force of the Fascist administration behind it, the scheme could scarcely fail to work for a while, at least. It would have to work. This is another reason for some reserve in passing final judgment on the results. Nevertheless, I do not believe that Fascist loyalty alone accounts for a great deal that is new in labor's recent spirit in Italy. Many of the leaders are unquestionably sincere in their conversion to the

new way of doing things, men who have the interests of their class at heart. Labor is taking a new course.

My first contact with this new spirit came in a conversation with Edmondo Rossoni, at Rome. The interview had been arranged after a long series of preliminary negotiations, a process almost invariable in Italy even today, before a correspondent can reach any person in high authority. Despite the swing of Mussolini's efficiency broom in many branches of the bureaucracy, the heads of the departments are still almost as deeply ensconced in tier upon tier of private secretaries as are the higher officials of the average Continental government—a circumstance that is sometimes more than exasperating to an American journalist. In the end, one usually penetrates to the inner sanctuary, if one has the patience and time to wait while the strings are moving (and untangling), but one's feelings and temper may suffer during the process. In this instance, the meeting took place in the national headquarters of the Italian trade guilds. I reproduce the conversation in some detail, because of the illuminating light it throws on the Fascist attitude toward the age-old problem of capital and labor.

Rossoni rose from his table with the cordial brusqueness of an American business man as I entered the room, and drew an arm-chair near his desk for me. In physique, he was solid, round-headed, full of energy. In manner, he was direct to the point of bluntness. He had all the earmarks of a good executive. One knew immediately he was a man with whom one could come to the point at once, and he gave the impression of a man in the habit of sizing up situations quickly and acting promptly. Of his political background, I knew only that he had been a Socialist, and that he was a seasoned labor executive. He had chieftained more than a few strikes. He had the reputation of being "advanced" in his social ideas. Today, he was secretary of the one large labor federation officially authorized by the Fascist government.

We plunged into the subject immediately. A long line of visitors was waiting on the benches in his outer office in Rome. The first things he said came as a shock to me, considering their source. I had made somewhat of a study of the labor movement, both in Europe and in America, and had a pretty good idea of the way labor leaders' minds worked.

"We have no strikes in Italy. They are prohibited by law. We have had none, practically speaking, since 1924. Now they are definitely made impossible, as a result of the new Corporations law. Fascism has given us a new way of getting at this question.

"Fascism holds that one portion of society has not the right to hold up the entire country and cause a loss to the whole nation while it is having its group interests adjusted. Italy is in the midst of an economic crisis. Every bit of energy in the country is needed. Italy cannot afford the luxury of idleness, or of having any part of the nation idle. Italy cannot afford to have the country made a battlefield for capital and labor. The nation needs to have all its productive forces applied all the time, and any one who shirks the duty of work, or any group that withdraws part of the country's productive force, is injurious to national interests.

"We consider the striker who causes a loss to the nation by stopping industry to be on the same plane with a common robber who puts his hand into his fellow-citizen's pockets on the street. We deal with him as such.

"All sections of society are merely different aspects of the nation as an organism. All must

operate together if the state is to function. We place capital and labor on an equal level, as two great factors in production. We require of both that they keep at their jobs. The state for its part undertakes to protect the individual interests of both and to adjust their differences."

Rossoni went on to describe the new Fascist "corporations" plan.

"With this machinery in existence, we believe there is no reason for strikes or lockouts."

Rossoni was careful to emphasize that the law imposed restraints on capital as well as on labor.

Mussolini's skill in drawing both the forces of capital and those of labor into the project, and in keeping these two factors side by side in the Fascist movement is one of the best examples of his adroitness and acumen in handling situations. He has done so, up to the present, by focusing attention on a national issue that is bigger than the interests of either group, and by building for himself a position of such personal strength that he can afford to "talk turkey" to both. There is a substance of reality, in addition to the bravado, in his declaration that the nation "courts the support of neither labor nor capital" as a group, but would be glad to have the coöperation of both!

Rossoni admitted that inside the Fascist Party there is a certain amount of rivalry between the two factions.

"Fascism is not reactionary in its social and economic conceptions as has been charged by a few labor leaders in other countries," he added. "It is dynamic, revolutionary. It is vigorous. It has advanced social ideas. It is a movement of young men, open to new ideas and possessed of the courage to try them out.

"There are two currents inside Fascism, the conservative and the revolutionary. The conservative faction adds to the strength and solidity of the movement. Its wishes are to be reckoned with, of course. But the more advanced elements predominate. Fascism is going forward. It has a progressive social program."

During the last two years Mussolini has made positive use of the regulatory features of the guild system on several occasions, both in the field of labor and in the realm of business and commerce. And true to promise, the supervision was bilateral, an attempt being made to balance gains and losses.

The compulsory arbitration project has withstood several definite strains, one of which set a

new precedent in the handling of wages in Europe. Only a few months after the project was announced, Mussolini gave organized labor in other countries a shock by decreeing that thereafter, for an indefinite period, the legal working day for the Italian laborer would be nine hours instead of eight. This naturally caused a sensation throughout Europe, in view of the long fight that had been waged for the eight-hour day. Mussolini gave as his reason for the move, Italy's economic distress which, he said, required of the Italian laborer an especial effort to meet the crisis—in other words, that he make nine hours of productive effort daily.

Actually, the practical effect of this decree was not as great as was generally believed to be the case abroad. Although the eight-hour day was the legal basis of the labor market at the time the step was taken, the fact was that the majority of Italian workingmen were already disregarding the law and putting in an extra hour of overtime. In many instances, their action was voluntary, springing from a desire to earn more money. In practise, Mussolini's edict did not materially lengthen the working day of Italian labor as a whole. He made the prevailing custom obligatory, and slightly decreased the total earnings of the average laborer

by doing away with the overtime; establishing in its place a new wage scale slightly lower than the amount the worker had been receiving with his bonus. Here was the real rub. The Communists in Italy made all they could of the situation. Red leaders in Milan insisted to me there was more opposition in the ranks of labor than came to the surface. Even Fascisti leaders admitted that there was opposition, but insisted it did not reach serious dimensions.

Labor fell into line, however, and the country's productive activities went on without a hitch.

The following year (1927) Mussolini made good his promise, given at the time of the wage reduction, that he would effect a compensatory reduction in the prices of some of the commodities the workingman had to buy. A slight reduction of prices of certain foodstuffs was ordered. Then followed a second order requiring landlords to readjust their rentals, moving the rates downward. There was a protest from the other side of the fence, but again the situation soon righted itself. The capitalistic groups affected dropped into step, as the laborers had done before.

This was the first time in history, to my knowledge, that a national readjustment of wages and

prices had been effected so quickly in peace time without any mentionable disturbance. It was the first time the idea of manipulating the various departments of national production as merely different aspects of a single enterprise had been carried into actual force by a western nation. Such a scheme has long been the ideal of theorists, and has sometimes been urged by members of various economic groups. On several occasions, our own and other governments have advised different interests in the country to try to achieve a general bi-lateral adjustment of this nature.

Late in the spring of 1928 Mussolini issued another statement in which he held out hope of still further adjustments, this time in the opposite direction. As a general principle, he explained, he favored higher wages, on account of the greater freedom they gave the worker. But the wage level cannot rise above industry's capacity to pay at a given moment, he said. The inference was that he hoped economic conditions soon would justify a more generous portion of profits for the wage-earner.

The guild framework of the "economic state" will also be utilized as the mold for the general

political life of the nation, according to plans, when, in Mussolini's judgment, circumstances justify a restoration of popular elections. My own guess is that for a time, at least, the franchise in Italy is likely to be a limited affair however, even after parliamentary elections are re-instituted; possibly little more than a gesture, speaking from an Anglo-Saxon point of view. Certain it is that some time will be required before the general intellectual level of the people can be raised to a point where, according to Mussolini's standards, the whole nation can profitably take part in such a move. Equally certain it is that the Fascisti will not, through premature relaxation of their political grip on the country, run any risk of losing out through unexpected popular whimsies at the polls. Popular sentiment being what it is today, the probability is that the government would run little danger at the polls. But there is little likelihood of any chances being taken.

An official pronouncement published in November, 1927, gave some idea of the method of voting which will be utilized when elections are restored. No immediate change is contemplated in the Senate, the members of which will continue to be appointed for life by the King. The communiqué

announced the administration's intention to re-establish popular election of the members of the lower house "in the near future."¹ The voting will be based, it explained, on the vocational principle.

A novel scheme was outlined for the selection of candidates. All original nominations for members of the Chamber are to be made through the Fascist guilds. After the "primary" balloting has been finished, the Central Executive Committee of the Fascist Party will go over the list, scrutinizing it both for its merits and omissions. The Committee has the privilege of amending the list, and the right to add to it the names of illustrious Italians—scientists, statesmen, or writers—who may possess especial qualifications for service in Parliament but who may be outside the range of the public eye. This final list will then be re-submitted to the country at large in the general election, the voters having the alternative of voting "yes" or "no." If the balloting is favorable, the list is declared elected. If, on the other hand, the electorate rejects the list, a second election is to be held. This time, any group which can prove that it has a

¹ A second decree, published in September, 1928, definitely promised restoration of elections in 1929.

strength of 5,000 votes has the privilege of entering a candidate.

In passing it is interesting to note that the vocational plan of representation (although not this particular variation) has figured prominently in the demands of Socialist groups in Europe since the War. In England, the moderate labor party has been insisting for more than a decade that geographical representation has been rendered obsolete as a basis for franchise by the social changes wrought by our new industrial era, and that the economic organization of the country offers a more feasible and more nearly just scheme for popular voting. In Soviet Russia, the vocational idea (and a plan of balloting very similar to that proposed by Mussolini) has been the theoretical basis of popular franchise since the Communist Revolution, although in practice the Communist Party made the polls a mere front-window display, all actual power remaining in the closed council chambers of the party.

This, in brief, is the Fascist State, a synthesis of economic and political theories but a combination that is intriguing to the student of peoples and

governments. Mussolini considers it his masterpiece. It is, indeed, his brain-child in most respects.

Which brings one to the personality of the man Mussolini, without a study of which any survey of Fascist Italy would be incomplete.

VI

MUSSOLINI

MY first glimpse of Mussolini was when he landed in Tripoli, on the coast of Africa, in the spring of 1926, to make his colorful, triumphal tour of the old Roman colony. The scene in that picturesque Arab seaport, where the Dictator was to be acclaimed by his followers as the "modern Cæsar," furnished a striking background for a first sight of this man who is master of a nation, and who only yesterday was a private in the Italian army, a Socialist exile, a newspaper editor, a blacksmith's son.

Up and down the beautiful cement esplanade, built by Count Volpi when he was governor of Tripolitania, stretched a sand-carpeted path, lined by troops. At one end was the romantic Moorish fortress, in which our American Commodore Perry was imprisoned during the war with the Mediterranean pirates. At the other end was the pier, where stood a stately native prince, once ruler of the province, now mayor of Tripoli, under the Fascisti. On both sides of the passageway crowded

thousand upon thousand of white-robed Arabs, who had come from the desert wastes behind, from beautiful date oases, or from tending their flocks, in Biblical fashion. Behind, rose the white profile of the city, with its domes, its square buildings and flat roofs, and slim, tall minarets outlined against the intense blue of the African sky. Vaguely, there came to us the faint sound of desert pipes and the beating of drums. The cannons in the citadel had just ceased firing their salute of twenty-one guns.

Into this long avenue Mussolini rode, on a brown Arab charger, at the head of a guard of honor of eight Savaris (Arab cavalrymen, clad in crimson robes and mounted on white horses). It was a scene made for a conqueror, a potentate, or a dictator. And Mussolini looked every inch the part, as he rode slowly past, sitting stiffly erect in his black velvet saddle. He was of medium stature. His nose was still painted with iodine. (He had escaped death from an assassin's bullet only four days before.) But even this blemish did not detract from the forceful reserve of his bearing. He wore a gray-green Fascist uniform, with black fez and high white plume. He radiated confidence. He had that perfect bodily self-control, that bal-

ance, that many call poise. His face was immobile, and he held his head as stiffly as if he had indeed been ruler of the world. The whole picture was one of power and color, a scene for a stage, and Mussolini lived up to the situation.

I could see the sparkle of appreciation in the eyes of the natives around me as he went by. He represented the kind of man they could understand. Foreign ruler that he was, he appealed to their love of virile qualities, their admiration for self-mastery and the ability to command others.

I had many opportunities to study Mussolini, from a distance of three or four feet, for long periods of time, during the week that followed, as our auto caravan went through the colony with him. But I never saw to better advantage than that first day, what might be called the quality of the dictator in him. That spark that every great inspirational leader of men must have, and without which he does not avail. Some call it magnetism; others, fire, or force. But it is something to which all human beings react to a greater or less degree, and it thrills the masses.

It was not a "pose," for it was not a fake. His attitude was a trifle exaggerated, judged by American standards, but it was not exaggerated in the

eyes of the Italians or of the Arabs. It was a posture of aloofness, but the attitude of a man every atom alive, a man who is on his guard every second and realizes the necessity of it.

We watched him that morning as he sat motionless on his horse—save for the periodic stiff salute—in front of the citadel, as the troops filed in review. We saw him, sharply outlined in the narrow upper-story window of the castle, as he appeared, for an instant, to wave to the crowd below. He always cut a striking figure.

I stood behind him that evening on the second balcony of the governor's mansion, at the reception, as he acknowledged the cheers that came from the sea of upturned, animated faces below us. They shouted again and again. Again and again he bowed and saluted. In the scene was the burning enthusiasm of a great college football rally. There was sincerity as well as warmth in the shouts that continued to come as long as Mussolini was visible.

"It is like the old days when the people called 'Ave (hail) Cæsar,' is it not?" one of the correspondents remarked to Mussolini, in Italian, after he had returned to the drawing-room. Mussolini smiled and nodded. And that evening as we went to our hotel, we saw huge green posters pasted on

the walls, reiterating, almost to the word, the historic phrase, and describing Mussolini as the "modern Cæsar."

In the new theater, built by the Fascisti near Tripoli's main street, the "Via Zizi," I heard Mussolini some days later in a speech to his followers and to the Italian colonists. The room was filled. My mind involuntarily went back to a similar scene in Moscow, when I had sat in the gilded Bolshoi Theater waiting to hear Lenin address the All-Russian Congress of Soviets. The Bolshevik dictator spoke from a stage in one of the world's most gorgeous playhouses. Four gold-tinted tiers of galleries, decorated with red draperies, rose one above the other at the rear of the room. The stage itself was set for a scene in an opera. The Commissars sat at a table, surrounded by Red soldiers, on the stage, and the hall was crowded with bewhiskered peasants and smooth-shaven grim young Communists.

No greater physical contrast could have been. The theater in which Mussolini was to speak, was brand new. Its interior was finished in wood. It had a single balcony and wooden chairs. Its simplicity and freshness were suggestive of the pioneer American Far West. Of the audience,

fully half were pioneer colonists; as near the type of the American Far Westerner as Italians can be. Here and there I saw a broad sombrero. The audience was keyed-up, however, as the Russian audience had been. In both cases the man of the hour was to appear.

I was almost as eager as they. After Lenin, Trotsky, and Kerensky, what would Mussolini be like as a speaker? What would his tactics be, how would he handle the crowd? And as it was a more or less intimate gathering of his own people, it was probable the dictator would discard the conventional stiltedness that had characterized most of his public utterances up to that point in Africa.

We heard a philosopher and moralist. Mussolini spoke simply. He used few gestures. (Mussolini does resort to gestures, however, when he speaks in public in Rome.) He spoke calmly and made no attempt to appeal to the emotions. His voice was a trifle husky. It had in it a tone of sincerity.

He devoted nearly all of the thirty minutes to discussing the technique of life. He spoke as a teacher, trying to show his followers how to live more effectively. He analyzed the human problems confronting them, both as Fascisti and as colonists. He pointed out the unerring laws of

cause and effect, showed how the same vital principles demonstrate themselves over and again in all fields of existence, whether in the political administration of a country, dealings with a race of subject natives, or the physical development of a colony. In a tone that reminded one of a father, firmly if a trifle regretfully explaining to his son, Mussolini emphasized the fatal results of loitering, of idleness, of failure to sense and exploit the opportune moment. He drove his points home with concrete physical (and usually picturesque) illustrations. I recall one, which brought delighted chuckles from the ranchers in the audience. "You can't build a colony by 'tea-dancing' in the Grand Hotel!" Some of the Italian officials in Tripoli and a few colonists had been accused of spending a disproportionate amount of their time in this way.

In his knack of getting straight to basic laws, he reminded me of Ramsay MacDonald, in London, or President Wilson, different as was the field of his discourse. At times he was a pure moralist, almost a Sunday school teacher. He ended the speech with a short peroration about work and his determination to get behind the development of the colony.

Mussolini has the faculty, however, of biting

attack, as he has demonstrated repeatedly in his speeches before the Italian chamber. He has Trotsky's art of the invective, although he does not rise to the heights of emotionalism of which the Red Army leader is capable. Mussolini has Trotsky's hammering faculty, and the knack of replying by carrying the attack into the enemy's territory. His bluntness has startled European statesmen more than once. When aroused, his platform manner is somewhat reminiscent of Roosevelt.

It was during this tour through the colony, however, and in personal conversation with him, that I saw the human side of Mussolini. Time and again I studied his face as he replied to a welcome from a native chief, stood watching an Arab spectacle, or chatted with us. And as we saw him thus in close contact, we came to realize the human qualities of the Dictator of which the few who know him intimately speak, but of which the world at large knows little.

We saw his sense of humor. We felt his genuineness, his American directness. You felt his scorn of the half-way, his immediate grasp of situations and skill in handling them. One could see in his eyes that he understood. He knew the kind of people he was dealing with, saw through them,

and knew how to handle them to produce results. Always his central idea, his program, was foremost, and he held to it. There was not a little opportunism, in fact, in his methods of carrying it out. If necessary to hold people at a distance, to be haughty, in order to make them feel the weight of his mission, he would do it. If it was desirable to impress them with his own personal importance to command respect for his words, he would do that.

This latter trait has sometimes caused him to appear a trifle ridiculous to American eyes, and has laid him open to the charge of colossal conceit. He does often speak as a very wise father to little children. Once I recall in Rome he actually told a group of laborers, "I know a great deal about this. I have studied it and made myself familiar with all phases of the matter. I know and you must do as I say!" To an Anglo-Saxon, this manner of speech sounds absurd. But it was not conceit that prompted it, judging from what I have seen of the character of the man, and I question whether anyone observant of human nature could have come away from that week in Tripolitania with the idea that Mussolini suffered from a distorted perspective. In my opinion, Mussolini knows what he is

doing when he "talks big." And it does not seem absurd to his hearers.

In the contacts of our tour of Libia, I also found a man of far greater sensitiveness than I had expected. Mussolini reacted instantaneously to everything. His face might be immobile if it was expedient that it be so, but his eyes revealed that he had caught the point. There was a delightful twinkle in them at times. One came to sense, also, that the armor of his hard exterior enclosed a soul that was sensitive, that the set of his face, its fierceness at times, was in reality a defense against life.

This conclusion is borne out by the opinions of the few—the very few—who know him intimately. Mussolini has few real intimates. He is, and must be, very much alone. But when he has chosen a friend, persons who have been in his entourage for several years say, it always has been, not a man of the conventional strong man type, but a man of unusual sensitiveness. His best personal friend in Rome is a young man who has served as his secretary and who is one of the gentlest of men. When away from public gaze, Mussolini has considerable of the artist in him. He is a violinist, and spends hours alone with his instrument, playing.

In his lighter moments, Mussolini can be boyish and enthusiastic. Will Rogers spoke of his jovialness when he "met" him in Rome, adding that he was a "regular guy." Mussolini understood Will Rogers. Otherwise, he would not have received him as he did. And once in a while as we went through North Africa, we caught flashes of this spirit. When, in Tripoli, the native black troopers (after entertaining him with a sword dance) seized him, hoisted him to their shoulders, and, yelling, carried him to his auto, Mussolini's face had a grin from ear to ear. He was as delighted as any college boy who is enjoying the thrill of a ride on his fellows' shoulders. In Garia, when the native maidens danced a hootchy-kootchy, Mussolini's face was as steady as a Stoic's. But those near him did not miss the amusement in his eyes.

Mussolini has limitations. His life has been a hard and bitter battle. Circumstances have not permitted all sides of his personality to develop as they might have under other conditions. My estimate of the man, in fact, is that he is a person who has not yet reached his full development. He is still growing. In this respect, he differs from Lenin, who came upon the stage in Russia in the full glory of his powers. Mussolini came glori-

ously in many ways, it is true, but he also came a bit half-baked in a few respects. He has had to get "done" while under the limelight, so to speak. He had to learn, and has learned many things since he came to Rome, both personally and politically. In both spheres he has progressed. In the field of international politics he has grown much wiser. He is not the *enfant terrible* among European statesmen that he was only a short time back. He is acquiring a better sense of proportion. He has calmed down noticeably during the last year. He is said, also, to have advanced in drawing-room technique.

When I was introduced to him at a tea he gave for the foreign correspondents, he was personally delightful. I have never met any one more cordial, responsive, fully alive and full of good will. He was interested in us. He was a gentleman. He was likeable. We chatted about Tripolitania, about the reclamation projects in the American far West, and a little about personal aspects of our trip.

In his dealings with foreign nations, Mussolini is still somewhat rough shod, at times; but he has made marked progress in tact during the last two years. By nature he is passionately nationalistic

and Italian. This has been his strength in reviving Italy. When he came to power, Mussolini understood the needs of his own country remarkably, but he did not seem to have a comprehensive idea of the technique of dealing with neighboring nations. He frequently overshot his mark. He is getting over this to an extent. He is using more common sense and is far more moderate than he was.

It is in his grasp of Italy's internal predicament, that Mussolini's genius lies primarily—in this and in his remarkable hold on the country. No man in modern times has imposed himself so completely on a nation. The Kaiser never had Germany so completely under his thumb. Lenin dominated the Communist Party, and through it, the destiny of the Russian nation; but even in the party Lenin had opposition. He won always in the long run because he was the better man. But he did not always have his way immediately.

Mussolini dominates not only the Fascist Party, but he has fired the country as a whole. Inside the party, he rules (as did Lenin). In Rome, party officials told me that every important project undertaken by the government since 1924, almost since the beginning of the Revolution, had origi-

nated with Mussolini. Today he holds four major cabinet offices and three minor executive portfolios. In my opinion, he holds them not because of excessive personal ambition, but because he knows of no other person at hand to whom he thinks he can entrust these jobs. He knows that if he does them, the work will be done, in the way he thinks it needs to be done, and he feels he cannot take chances.

Mussolini has extended his personal influence far outside the party. He appeals directly to the Italian people. His political foes hate him and call him a tyrant. But all admit he is effective.

In all things, Mussolini is vigorous. He has plenty of physical courage. He takes pains to show his scorn of danger. He is trying to instill his attitude into his followers. In Fascist headquarters in all parts in Italy, are legends, painted on the walls, reminding the Black Shirts that "A Fascista must never be afraid to die." (It would be interesting to know the total effect of these slogans, some of which are heroic in their text.) One in an aerodrome near Tripoli, informed the aviators, about to fly, that "He who does not fear death will not die."

In his recreations, the Dictator is as strenuous

as in his work. He plays intensely and dramatically. Aside from his violin, his favorite pastimes for several years of his dictatorship were flying in an aeroplane and racing in his automobile. These perilous sports he finally gave up, on the insistence of his colleagues. He is an enthusiastic horseman, boxer, and fencer. He rides an hour nearly every day on one of his six saddle mounts.

Mussolini's family life is lived quite apart from his official life. He does not mix the two. He has a wife, two daughters and two sons, the latest of whom, Romano, was born in 1928. But he has never moved his family to Rome. His wife has remained in Milan. Mussolini makes periodic trips to Milan to see her and his children. His daughters are in a fashionable girls' school near Florence. One of them received a medal in 1926 for saving the life of a little boy who was drowning in the river Arno.

The Dictator's brother, Arnaldo, is editor of the *Popolo*, the daily newspaper of which Benito Mussolini was editor before he became premier. But Mussolini has not tried to draw his relatives into the public picture. The story is told that after his appointment as premier, he called a council of the Mussolini clan, told them that in a personal

way he was still Benito and a loyal member of the family, but that in Rome and in his official life, he was "the prime minister of Italy."

Mussolini was 43 on his last birthday. He was born in Romagna, in northern Italy. His father was a blacksmith, and Benito's early days were spent helping at the forge. His education in books was supervised by his mother; his father undertook to tutor him in ways of battling with life. He is said to have been a severe taskmaster. Benito's father was a Social Revolutionary, and the future dictator was brought up on socialism. Benito became an ardent Red.

For a number of years he figured in Italian police records as an undesirable. He was arrested several times.

Finally he fled to Switzerland, where he became an indigent member of the Socialist exile colony. There he met Lenin and many other Red leaders then in the Swiss capital. He earned his living as a manual laborer, when he could find work, and studied when he could. Later he wandered through France and Austria. Part of the time he worked as a tramp printer.

Returning to Italy, he became a reporter on one of the Socialist papers, finally editor. He broke

with the Socialist Party over the issue of Italy entering the War, and enlisted as a private in the Italian army.

An interesting feature of this phase of Mussolini's life is the fact that despite the phenomenal career he made for himself later, he went through the whole War without even gaining a lieutenant's commission. His highest combatant rank was that of a "non-com."

Mussolini saw action at the front. His fellow soldiers speak of him as an admirable soldier. In Tripoli, I talked with a lieutenant, now serving in the colonial administration, who fought alongside him in the trenches. He said Mussolini had been a good comrade and a good trooper. Mussolini was wounded several times, and finally sent to a hospital behind the lines, where, the story is told, the King once saw him and chatted with him, during one of the royal visits to the sick wards.

Mussolini resumed his newspaper work after the War. One among scores of other correspondents, he covered the Genoa conference between the Bolsheviks and the Allies, for his paper in the spring of 1921. Eighteen months afterward, he became Dictator of Italy.

PART II
THE RESULTS OF FASCISM

VII

SOME STRIKING MATERIAL RESULTS

WHAT have been the results of the Fascist régime's first half decade of stewardship in Italy?

In a material sense, Mussolini has transformed Italy into a going concern. To borrow the business phrase, the country has not yet reached the stage where it is "paying big," but it is definitely making its way and is on the up-grade. A few years ago Italy was rapidly heading towards bankruptcy.

In a remarkably short space of time, the Dictator has effected an operative change in the nation that has already begun to produce results, results which are striking indeed in some fields of economic activity. The country is functioning today, as it has never functioned before. A new atmosphere has been created from one end of the peninsula to the other. The Italian people are working as they have never worked before. The nation is gaining a new faith in its powers, both in the realm of economics and in the realm of interna-

tional politics. In short, Italy is finally becoming a nation and is beginning to learn to operate as an organic unit.

Again bearing in mind the brevity of the time Fascism has been in control, the record of things already accomplished is impressive, all being a part of the general overhauling and reorganization process which the entire national structure is undergoing. In the field of government—the first to receive Mussolini's attention—the whole bureaucratic machine has been gone over and repaired. Sweeping economies have been effected. Many cumbersome or useless sub-departments have been eliminated. In some instances, departments have been combined or reorganized. Numbers of superannuated employés have been discharged on pensions, the Duce's idea being to cut the administrative staff down to the number actually required to do the work efficiently. In the government offices themselves, a new spirit of industry has been introduced. Mussolini has insisted that civil service employés report at their desks punctually in the morning, and put in their time effectively through the day. This latter regulation caused a furore in civil service circles when it was first promulgated—an alarm which grew

into consternation when it became apparent that the head of the government meant what he said. Nevertheless, the office staffs finally adjusted themselves to the new dispensation; today they are coming as close to approximating the time-clock routine of an American business office as Italians are capable of doing. A reëxamination of administrative methods was undertaken throughout the official organization. The bureaucratic machine was tightened up and made to operate more smoothly. A search was instituted for traces of corruption and administrative graft—a curse from which Italy had suffered grievously for many decades—and little leniency was shown offenders. A vigorous effort was made to stop the wastage of public funds which had hitherto been a feature of government in Italy, wastage through the dual practice of inefficiency and graft.

The consequence was that the state budget was balanced and a surplus reported in 1926, for the first time in years. On June 30, 1926, Count Volpi, Minister of Finance from 1924 until July, 1928, was able to announce, in his speech before Parliament, that the revenues of the preceding fiscal year (1925-26) had exceeded expenditures by 1,200,000,000 lire. The following year (1926-

27) the budgetary surplus amounted to 456,000,000 lire. The official estimate for the year 1928-29, corrected up to March 31, 1928, showed a surplus of 766,000,000 lire.

Italy's national railway system, owned and operated by the government, and notorious among Continental railway systems for its inefficient management, has been rehabilitated. Operative and administrative methods have been improved and economies effected. For the first time in memory, trains are running on time—with a precision equal to that of trains in the United States and in Germany. Formerly they were habitually irregular. This miracle of punctuality was achieved by the expedient of placing two firm Fascist guards on every train to see that schedules were maintained. During the fiscal year 1924-25 the railway system was able to more than pay expenses, the surplus over operating costs for that period being 1,460,000,000 lire, according to the Ministry of Finance. Incidentally, this figure happens to correspond exactly with the deficit which the old Italian government had to make up for the railways in 1921-22. The surplus decreased slightly during 1926 and 1927.

In the fields of industry and business, a general

tightening of the nation's economic machinery and an increase in productivity has been effected. Here the government has sometimes advised, sometimes urged, occasionally ordered, always aided where it could. All Italy's factories, in complete disorganization in 1921, are working today (some at reduced rate, it is true, due to the effects of the crisis of 1927, the consequences of which industry was a little slow in throwing off). The country has been freed from the strike evil, the national loss through stoppage of production entailed by labor conflicts having thus been eliminated.

The volume of business done in the peninsula, including both exports and imports, has been increased notably. In 1921, Italy's exports represented a total value of 8,278,572,276 lire, according to a survey by the National Central Institute of Statistics. Imports totalled 16,925,973,825 lire. Figures for 1925 showed a total value of exports of 18,276,956,456 lire and imports to the amount of 26,173,219,449. Records for the first four months of 1928 gave the volume of exports during that period as 4,463,200,000, and imports, 7,008,600,000 lire. These latter figures, however,

represent a slight decrease as compared with records for the same period in 1927.

Throughout Italy, an important re-organization of business and industry in the direction of large scale mergers is taking place, with encouragement from the government. Of all European countries, Italy has been the slowest to respond to the twentieth century trend towards the combination and concentration of economic forces. Suddenly awakening to the possibilities of this development, the Italian world of business at the moment is engaged in a (sometimes rather feverish) attempt to adjust itself. In various fields of industry and commerce, a number of important mergers took place during 1927 and 1928. Included in the list was the union of the powerful Cosulich Steamship lines and the Lloyd Triestino, which brought under the same management two of the most influential shipping and ship-building concerns in Italian commerce. An important centralization took place in the chemical industries, the S. I. P. E., Italy's leading manufacturer of explosives, effecting an amalgamation with the Bonelli and Italica dye companies, creating a new trust, the National Associated Chemical Companies, with a capital of 98,000,000 lire. In the hydro-electrical industry,

already highly organized, the Italian Edison Co. which in 1926 absorbed the Conti, in 1928 incorporated three more northern peninsular companies, forming a combine with a capital of 237,000,000 lire. The Montecatini Co., leading concern in the fertilizer field, in 1928 announced the incorporation of thirteen minor firms, whose stock it already held, under a single management. Similar consortiums have taken place in the marble, artificial silk, and distilling industries. On March 20, 1928, Count Volpi, in presenting to Parliament a decree to create credit facilities to favor this trend, stated that up to that date amalgamations involving total investments of 500,000,000 lire had already taken place, while a number of others, involving a large total capital, had been announced.

An effort is being made to encourage adoption of improved technical methods and equipment in industry as a whole. A certain amount of new machinery has been installed in factories in the northern end of the peninsula, and the government is endeavoring to facilitate this wherever possible by extending commercial credits. Although business methods as a rule are still inferior in Italy to the technique of which the American business world can boast, a noticeable improvement in

methods and system has taken place in offices of many of the larger concerns. The whole industrial field has benefited from the government's intense "work hard" propaganda, which has been turned loose upon the nation since the end of 1925.

The most direct official act to lend stability to the business structure was the stabilization of the currency and the reëvaluation of the lira, effected by Count Volpi in 1927, after two years of effort. On December 21, 1927, a royal decree was published fixing the value of the lira at a definite level—the rate adopted being equivalent to a ratio of nineteen lire to an American dollar—and placing the currency system on a gold basis. The new currency system, which has become known as the gold exchange standard, differs slightly from the full gold standard, in that it permits the Central bank to hold, as reserve for the currency, a large proportion of foreign currency payable in countries where the convertibility of notes into gold is in force. The full gold standard implies that the bank of issue hold a reserve consisting of nothing but gold. This latter detail was developed and defined by an auxiliary decree issued in February, 1928.

To safeguard and regularize credit facilities throughout the nation, a banking reform had al-

ready been instituted (September, 1926) with the object of coördinating the national banking system under the supervision and authority of the Banca d'Italia. Previous to that time, there had been considerable confusion in the field filled by the smaller banks, and an unfortunate lack of central control over the entire credit system. Under the new plan, all new banks were required to secure the indorsement of the Ministry of Finance before organization, and to submit to the general supervision of the Banca d'Italia (the Italian State bank) in matters of credit policies. Stricter requirements were put into force as regards capital reserve. Periodic bank examinations were provided for as a regular feature of the national system.

Such a profound readjustment in the national economic body was not possible, of course, without the accompaniment of a few organic pains. As was the case in all other European countries which returned to a gold basis after a period of currency inflation, the stabilization of the lira brought a decided strain on business and industry. It temporarily curtailed production and precipitated the crisis of 1927. Prices took some time to readjust themselves to the new scale of costs resulting from the reëvaluated lira. A few factories were obliged

to revert to a restricted operating schedule, and business in general was forced to retrench in a number of ways. Had it not been for the strenuous efforts of the government to offset this depression by measures to improve productive methods, extend credit relief where possible, and to enlarge the nation's productive organism generally, the strain doubtless would have been much more severe. As it was, unemployment increased, rising from 250,000 in 1926 to a peak of 411,785 on Feb. 1, 1928. Then it again began to decline, dropping to 356,795 on May 1, 1928.¹ The rapid advance in national prosperity, experienced during 1926, was checked for a while. To increase the difficulties, came a drouth which affected a large part of Italy's farming area and curtailed the production of food. Nevertheless, the country continued to move forward, if at a slower pace, and in a number of fields effected consolidations of its economic strength that are likely to have important consequences. The beginning of 1928 brought a slight relief and during the first six months of this year definite improvement was reported in many fields of economic activity. The reorganization of the

¹ In 1922, unemployment reached a maximum of 606,819 in January; the minimum for this year, just before the Fascist conquest of the government, was 304,242 in the month of April.

national economic organism did not stop and Mussolini's campaign to enlarge the potential productivity of the country went on.

This latter feature constitutes one of the most significant phases of the Dictator's economic program, both in industrial and agricultural realms. Many important projects, sponsored by the government, to enlarge the nation's productive mechanism, as well as to make it more efficient, are in progress.

A vigorous effort has been made to rebuild the Italian merchant marine, decimated by the War, and to create a fleet larger than ever achieved during pre-War times. During 1926, Italy was rated as second only to England in the total tonnage of shipping laid down. In 1927, Germany nosed her from second place but the Italian totals for the year were third largest in Europe.¹ Of the ships

¹ During the parliamentary debate on the estimates for the fiscal year, 1928-29, the Minister of Communications gave out the following survey of the condition of Italian shipping during the period 1923-27:

MERCHANT SHIPS

	<i>Laid down</i>		<i>Launched</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Tons</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Tons</i>
1923.....	11	27,000	16	60,000
1924.....	22	148,000	15	74,000
1925.....	24	228,000	22	126,000
1926.....	107	98,000	148	250,000
1927.....	75	94,610	83	93,519

launched in 1927, ten were motor ships. The present program includes the construction of six large passenger liners of latest design.

In northern Italy, a far-reaching hydro-electrical project is under way, partly aided by governmental subsidy. A large bond issue to further this enterprise was floated by the Morgan brokerage houses in the United States in 1927. The ultimate goal of the scheme is to provide electrical power for all of northern Italy's industries. The significance of this will be appreciated when it is recalled that the bulk of the country's industrial bloc is in the northern end of the peninsula.

Near Bolzano, in the Upper Adige (a province taken from Austria by the Treaty of St. Germain) I saw one of these huge plants. In the Fascist Party Headquarters, on the second floor of a building in the center of this picturesque Tyrolean settlement (a popular summer resort for American tourists) the local secretary described the details of the plan which, he insisted, would be complete soon after 1932.

"We are building three new power plants in the mountains of the old Tyrol," he explained. "One is at Cardana and will produce a current of 500,000,000 volts. It will be completed late in 1928.

Two more are in construction at Vippitano and Mezzacarona. They will be ready in 1930. The existing plant at Merlingen is being enlarged. The current from these plants will be 'piped' to factories in cities all over northern Italy."

In the field of agriculture, important moves are being made not only to enlarge the productive organism but to introduce improved methods of farming. Partly sponsored by the government, partly by private individuals and companies, extensive land reclamation projects are under way, which, when completed, will add more than a million hectares ¹ to the nation's tillable area. Part of this work has already been completed. The Val-

¹Tables compiled in 1927 by the Italian Agricultural Federation divided the area affected by the reclamation projects as follows:

Land reclaimed.....453,706 hectares

	<i>Initiated by the State</i>	<i>Concessions</i>
Northern Italy	68,670	185,842
Central Italy	36,130	5,330
Southern Italy	118,997	19,829
Island possessions, including Sardinia and Sicily	2,707	16,200

PROJECTS UNDER WAY

Northern Italy	33,517	254,312
Central Italy	38,105	51,901
Southern Italy	124,678	26,834
Islands	13,259	20,590

Total acreage marked out for reclamation but upon which work has not yet been begun.....568,196 hectares

ley of the Po, the Pontine marshes, and the lower portions of the peninsula are the principal scenes of this activity. Three hundred and eighty thousand acres of marshy, malaria-infested land have been drained and made ready for agriculture. A half million more hectares have been marked out to be reclaimed at some future time. The area reclaimed includes regions which had not only been unfit for use, but dangerous sources of disease for the inhabitants of the districts surrounding. Despite Italy's dense population, there are considerable areas of vacant land in parts of the peninsula which have lain unused simply due to the lack of initiative to redeem them from nature. These areas cannot compare, of course, with the great stretches in our American far west, now being retrieved for the use of man. But they are sufficient to add noticeably to Italy's agricultural production. The soil in these regions is comparatively fertile. All it needs is water. To provide the latter, the government is sponsoring the construction of a system of storage lakes, in which water can be stored away and drawn upon for irrigation.

In 1926, when this reclamation scheme was already in full swing, Count Volpi told me that the government had been able to do its share in the

financing of the enterprises without adding a lira to the budget: "The Fascist government has saved enough by conserving the large sums formerly lost through graft and inefficient methods, over-staffing of the bureaucratic machine, etc., to make up for all it has expended in these projects." A rather striking commentary on the previous governments.

Still more significant in an economic sense are the government's efforts to increase production by introducing more advanced farming methods into the country. In this sphere, wide use is being made of the guild system, the farmers' guilds furnishing convenient points of contact between the government and the rural population and excellent centers for educational propaganda. To catch the ear of the peasant folk, Mussolini has dramatized the process by calling it a wheat battle (the idea, by the way, recalls the Russian Bolsheviki's Battle of Wheat Campaign in 1924; much of the technique has been borrowed in toto from Russia). At every opportunity, the Duce takes pains to stress the need for intelligent farming. He declares he intends to transform Italy's peasantry into enlightened agriculturalists, specialists in the farming industry, each farmer becoming a business man and skilled executive as well as a tiller of the soil.

Mussolini personally initiated the Battle in a speech at Rome in 1926. He has since taken frequent occasion to lend the force of his personal example and influence to the movement. Periodically, he makes excursions into the farming regions, to inspect a new piece of farming machinery, or to pitch a little hay, à la President Coolidge, while movie camera men stand by. The inauguratory speech which formally launched the campaign, incidentally, afforded an illuminating illustration of his manner of attack. I reproduce a few typical passages:

"Gentlemen: The aim of the Wheat Battle is to free the Italian people from the slavery of foreign bread. The aid of the Marsh Battle (referred to before) is to protect the health of millions of Italians from the danger of malaria and poverty. The Fascist government has given back to the Italian people those liberties they had lost: the liberty to work, of having confidence in themselves, of feeling that they are a strong people not dependent on other people's covetousness or demagoguery. Give to the furthest homes in our adorable land my greetings. Tell them that if my steady will-power will be supported by their co-

operation, Italian agriculture will attain a period of great prosperity."

The agricultural program has included a great deal more than ballyhoo, however. In 1926, Mussolini created a special wheat commission to study the situation and to appoint personalities of agricultural science and technique in various parts of the country to aid. He personally took the chairmanship of the commission at first, later relinquishing it and the portfolio of agriculture to the On. Martelli. A protective tariff was established on wheat and other grains, and the import duty or selling tax on gasoline used in agricultural engines was abolished. Subsequent royal decrees provided for bureaus of propaganda and research, manned by farm experts and representatives of the farmers' guilds. Provision was made for limited farm credits.

Rudimentary courses in farming were added to the curricula of many common schools in the smaller villages. The existing system of perambulating cathedrals of agriculture was seized upon, energetically utilized, and enlarged. These cathedrals are miniature rural universities on wheels. One is to be found in each major district, usually

manned by a single professor. The professor makes period circuits of his territory, lecturing in the villages and conferring with the farmers. Between trips, he maintains an office in his base city, answering inquiries from any farmer who wishes to write and conducting office clinics on farm problems. Once a year, the professors meet in Rome to report to the Minister of Agriculture and to compare notes.

A dozen new experimental stations were created, and the existing farms enlarged, making a national system of twenty-five farm laboratories. In common with the great farm experimental stations in the United States, after which the Italian farms were patterned, these stations are carrying on studies in the improvement of crop species and in the adaptation of new crops to Italy. The problem of crop rotation, practiced in Italy since the days of the Romans but hitherto on a rather haphazard plan, is being studied and reduced to science. Italy's possibilities as a future seed-producing region are being investigated. Like California, Italy is a region with a high degree of luminosity, a condition which agricultural experts find very conducive to successful seed propagation. It is hoped a new industry, one normally quite

profitable, may be created in Italy, to supply the balance of the Continent with seeds.

One of the most important innovations introduced into the Italian agriculture since Fascism is the practice of spraying, as a means of combating plant diseases which have hitherto taken heavy tribute from the peninsular farmers. Universal as the practice has become in the United States and the more advanced farming regions of the world, Italian farmers never before attempted to fight insect pests in this manner. The only exception to the rule was the use of Bordeaux mixture by the vineyardists, who for some years had been in the habit of sprinkling this liquid over the grape-vines. Perhaps no more eloquent illustration exists of the backwardness of Italian agriculture than its failure to adopt this expedient which represents one of the most important advances agriculture has made in its entire history. Since the advent of Fascism, spraying has become a feature of rural activity.

Another new idea, borrowed from the United States by the black-shirted Fascist agricultural mentors was the standardization of citrus fruits. For centuries Italy's lemons have constituted one of her most valuable fruit crops. The Italian product had suffered on the world market, how-

ever, owing to lack of uniformity in quality and size. In this field, the Fascist government not only advised, but ordered. A law passed in 1927 established a control over exports, the exporters' guild being obliged to guarantee the quality and size of all citrus fruit passing through Italian ports. No fruit is allowed to leave Italy without the guild stamp.

A national campaign to bring about more intensive cultivation, increasing the unit yield of the farming industry, has been undertaken by the Ministry of Agriculture and the farm guilds. Government aid in the form of credits for purchase of fertilizers has been extended. Prizes have been offered as an added personal incentive for more enlightened methods of tilling. Farmers are being taught the desirability of deeper and more frequent cultivation of the soil. Hitherto, the usual practice has been scarcely to scratch the surface of the ground. The use of modern farm machinery is being encouraged, government credits being made available in some instances to help farm guilds buy threshing machines and tractors to hire out to the farmers. Mussolini has personally shown marked interest in the development of the stock industry, an industry which is extremely im-

portant in southern and central Italy. Professor Rossati, a distinguished agricultural authority, estimates that Italy's cattle herds have been increased by 40% during the period 1923-28, and that the sheep industry in southern Italy has expanded from 15% to 20%, as compared with pre-War conditions.

In addition to the various aids to industry and agriculture, the Fascist government is striving to exert a definite influence on personal as well as national husbandry. In innumerable ways, Mussolini's hand may be seen in the daily life of the people. The country is being subjected to an economic discipline similar to that which a head of the family might impose on his household during a financial crisis. That Italy is passing through such a period cannot be gainsaid. It is important to keep in mind that the peninsula is poor, and that the nation had sunk to a dangerously low economic level. Towards the end of 1926, Mussolini felt it necessary to issue nation-wide food regulations. Flour substitutes were made obligatory in the making of bread, in public eating houses and bakeries, to conserve the wheat supply.

In various walks of life, Mussolini is teaching the people a new sense of personal self-respect. Italy

has been known to tourists as a country of romance, antiquity and—filth. Mussolini is cleaning the country up, literally. He has already effected a noticeable change in the appearance of the streets in the tenement districts of many of the larger cities. Garbage can no longer be thrown from the windows or dumped on the streets. Naples, for one, has become another city. Italy is having her face washed! In Rome, the Fascisti have erected hundreds of comfort stations, with porcelain appliances. Formerly, the urinals were unprotected and exposed to full view in the streets, as they still are in the villages and many smaller cities. Children, and grown-ups, too, are no longer allowed to commit nuisances in the dark corners of the arcades of churches in Rome. The second- and third-class railway coaches, formerly notorious for their uncleanliness, are being scrubbed and cleaned.

Although life from the point of view of the individual is still difficult in Italy, and margins necessarily are small, compared with standards in America, a new moral atmosphere is definitely perceptible throughout the country. One still hears an amount of complaint about the hardness of times but there is a feeling of hope among large portions of the population that was not present

some years ago. There is a wholesome belief that at last Italy is heading somewhere.

The question has sometimes been asked abroad, as to how much of Italy's economic recovery can be traced directly to Fascism. Opponents of Mussolini point out that all Europe was in a sorry plight after the War. Although all the other countries are not going ahead so rapidly, nevertheless, the Continent in general is beginning slowly to straighten itself out. The query has been raised as to whether Italy, also, might not have "come back" sooner or later without a Fascist Revolution.

In my judgment, local conditions were such in Italy that Mussolini is entitled to claim credit for a great deal of what has taken place. First of all, it must be remembered that Italy was moving rapidly toward Bolshevism in 1922. Conditions were similar in a number of ways to the circumstances which surrounded the establishment of the Bolshevist government in Russia. In Italy there was not, it is true, a background of political despotism. But economic conditions had brought about a general atmosphere of despair that augured well for the success of a Communist uprising. The movement had already been launched, and was on a fair way towards success at the time when the

Fascist legions took over the country. In my judgment, the establishment of a Communist republic in the Italian peninsula would have been a disaster, both social and economic, to the Italian nation. The Socialist program includes eternal truths, principles which, in my opinion, probably will be included in the general European economic system in one form or other during this century. The major problem of this era, as I see it, is the solution of the social problem of economic power. In my judgment, the probable avenue of advance in the United States is likely to be along slightly different lines from the course which the Continent of Europe will take. I believe that a decided broadening of the base of the economic pyramid is inevitable in one form or other in all countries of the world. Nevertheless, the Communist system as instituted in Russia, and as proposed by the Italian Reds in their try for power, has never worked, where it has been tried. In Russia, Communism reduced the country to the most abject poverty and suffering. Conditions continued to grow worse until Lenin had the vision to order an abandonment of the experiment. Whereupon conditions began to improve. They have been improving steadily, though slowly, ever since. Red propa-

gandists have insisted that Communism did not have a fair chance in Russia. There were handicaps, it is true. Russia was isolated economically and politically from the whole world. Lenin received a colossal heritage of chaos from the Tsar. The country was swept for several years by civil warfare. Nevertheless, all evidence I saw in Russia indicated that the Communist experiment would have failed, even had these obstacles not existed. It would have failed because as an economic system, it did not provide the driving power necessary to make it produce, a prime essential of any economic order. Individual initiative was stifled. There was little incentive to enterprise. The system did not show itself adapted to the nature of man or to his needs as he is constituted today.

Mussolini prevented a repetition of this misfortune in Italy. And Italy needed to be re-vitalized, as well as reorganized, economically and socially. This process, now under way, is directly traceable to Mussolini.

To quote the words of Professor Rossati, the fact remains that in Italy the Fascisti are doing and causing to be done many necessary things which Italians only talked about doing before.

VIII

"REMODELING" ROME

WHATEVER its ultimate stamp on Italian history, the Fascist régime has undertaken reconstruction measures of a physical nature which will leave a permanent mark on the city of Rome and, to a less degree, on several other Italian cities.

Not since the days of Augustus, the golden era of the Roman Empire to which Mussolini is so fond of alluding, has such a far-reaching change in the form of the ancient capital been projected as that upon which government architects and engineers are working today. And as Rome is not only the Mecca for tourists and pilgrims from all lands but the cradle of Western civilization, what affects Rome interests the world.

The reconstruction program, or "regulatory plan," as it is called officially, was announced by Mussolini in 1926. It envisaged not only what might be termed the resurrection of the ancient part of Rome, but an actual shift of the center of gravity of the modern city, a transfer of part of the city's economic life to a point several kilometers

from its present focus, and a decided change in the capital's physiognomy. It involved the cutting of new streets through the center of Rome, to free the city from the traffic congestion resulting from forcing the vehicular street life of the twentieth century through passageways made for the leisurely travel of the ancients. It proposed the laying out of a ring of boulevards, on the model of the Parisian boulevards, and the creation of new squares and parks to make Rome a modern "city beautiful."

It includes the construction of underground railways and subways, which will tunnel under the historic Seven Hills, and divert part of Rome's street traffic into noisy underground corridors of modern metropolitan life. It will combine twentieth century social improvement ideas with the traditional popular measures of the ancient Romans in providing for construction of immense public baths, on the pattern of the Roman institutions, and the erection by the State of hundreds of workingmen's houses, near what is to be Rome's new industrial center.

It is a plan to redeem the old and remake the new Rome. Although the first part of the program makes the stronger appeal to sentiment and will

actually represent a cultural achievement, the latter phase is decidedly more pretentious, and, from the point of view of present-day Italy, more important.

The refashioning of the physiognomy of a great city—especially of one that has taken some two thousand years to reach its present form—is an undertaking of no mean size. Rather than try to remold ancient Moscow, Peter the Great preferred to build an entirely new capital, in the north of Russia.

When, in a speech inaugurating the Governor of Rome, Mussolini first announced his plans for a new Imperial Rome, Rome, and most of Italy, blinked a few times and swallowed, figuratively speaking. The five-year time limit, in which the new Governor was ordered to effect this miracle of a remade city, was "the limit." All that prevented the project from being laughed at (behind the discreet cover of one's palm) was the fact that it came from Mussolini, who had a reputation for getting things done. But even for Mussolini, this was a stunner. When I went to Rome six weeks later, I found not only that Rome had come to take the matter seriously, but that Mussolini had already started the cumbersome bureaucratic ma-

chinery of state to work toward its practical realization.

In its final details, the project is still incomplete. As soon as the seriousness of the plan became evident, nearly every civil engineer of any prominence got out his pencil and draught sheet and began bombarding the administration with sample plans, always, of course, with himself as the master architect. Streets were razed and marvelous public buildings erected around be-palmed squares with delightful abandon—on paper. But despite the confusion of pencils, the general scheme of the project has become concrete. Impractical ideas have been sifted out and discarded, and the economic, civic, and cultural aspects of the whole city's life have received a thorough cataloging, probably for the first time since Augustus.

Work has been begun on the more immediate features of the project, *i.e.*, the clearing away of débris from the historic edifices and monuments. The region of the Roman Forum, which once echoed with the voices of Rome's great statesmen, is ringing with the sound of hammers and the crash of falling beams.

And the Governor's administration on the Campidoglio is getting down to realities regarding

the future disposition of modern Rome. The rhetorical enthusiasm with which the enterprise was originally taken up, has given way to a sober realization of the scope and seriousness of the undertaking. One hears less about "rebuilding Rome in five years" and more about "making the city over thoroughly, in a way that will make it more habitable as well as more beautiful." Experts are squaring dream with practicability, and weighing beauty and utility. It is realized that the scheme involves far more than would be humanly possible of achievement in the space of five years. "No, of course it is not possible to rebuild Rome in five years," Giuseppe Giovannoni, dean of the government's architects and a prominent member of the regulatory plan commission, said to me in Rome. Giovannoni is an aged architect who for a long time had devoted much energy to the civic needs of modern Rome; he now is in hopes of seeing some of his dreams carried into reality. "It will require at least fifteen years to do what Mussolini proposes, possibly more. That is," he added smilingly, "it would under the normal course of events." He shrugged his shoulders. "Of course, our estimates are based on the usual way of doing things. With Mussolini behind the project, it

would be possible to do a little more than otherwise would be possible, in fact, considerably more! We shall do it as quickly as we can."

He intimated that the Italian Dictator's stick was a wand that could lend speed to almost any undertaking. And he felt Mussolini was very much in earnest about this.

The basic idea of the project is slowly to move the modern part of Rome away from the heart of ancient Rome, which it is now "constricting" with its profane pressure, to areas toward the south and southeast, which now are either open or sparsely settled and which, it is claimed, also afford superior topographical inducements for industrial enterprise. Theoretically, the plan would be to withdraw completely from the zone of the ancients, leaving the latter in "silent, tragic grandeur" as a monument to the origin of our Western civilization. But for practical reasons, this ideal is attainable only in a relative sense. The tentacles of modern Rome have enmeshed themselves too thickly in many parts of old Rome to be torn away completely. The days are past when an entire city can be razed and its inhabitants ordered to move on in the manner that was in vogue some several thousands of years back. Much of what

is now Rome's financial and business center will and must remain, notably the region of the Corso Humberto, the ancient race-track which is now lined with the cement homes of Italy's great banking and trading concerns. The mistake made by the builders of modern Rome in permitting the new city to entrench itself on the site of the old, cannot be undone entirely. About all that can be done here for the present is to tear away less important buildings which are now impinging upon historic edifices—the ancient "Augusteo," for instance, one of Rome's finest old theaters, is today lost in the midst of a mass of low, shabby buildings—and cut a few streets through adjoining areas to free the narrow Corso Humberto and a few other thoroughfares from part of their traffic jams.

There are other districts which contain a great deal of "dead wood"—old, unsanitary tenement buildings, such as those in the vicinity of what is left of the grand old theater of Marcellus, or the unsightly shops and tenements which crowd upon the Roman and other Forums near the Capitoline Hill. All of these hovels can be advantageously cleared away, and in these regions Mussolini intends to swing his broom freely. Much of this

work can also be justified on grounds of civic utility on account of the effect on the traffic situation. Old Rome is built close together. For military reasons, the Romans squeezed the city into the smallest confines possible. And as the skyscraper had not been invented, they economized space by narrowing their streets. Sometimes there weren't any streets. Pedestrians wormed their way between the buildings and made the paths which are now busy courts and alleys.

All this, of course, will require a large sum of money. Several billion lire were set aside for the purpose in 1927 and more appropriations have been promised when necessary. A large share of the burden will have to be borne by the country as a whole. This is justified on the grounds that Rome is a national institution. "What glorifies Rome, exalts Italy."

The construction of subways and underground railways in old Rome presents serious engineering as well as sentimental difficulties. Old Rome is honeycombed with subterranean passages, from the Roman Forum west. To dig a channel through this labyrinth would not only interfere with some of Rome's oldest sanctuaries but offer structural problems which make such a project unfeasible.

"I doubt if Rome will ever have a subway system like that of some of the other great world capitals," Signor Giovannoni declared. "Nor is the city quite ready yet, from the point of view of volume of population, to support a large underground system. All that would be practical, now, would be underground railway and traffic passages through the Seven Hills, where the corridors would be deep enough not to intersect any of the caves. Here a large part of our street traffic, both vehicular and railway, could very advantageously be diverted from the surface."

Mussolini intends to swing Rome's steam railway traffic from its present terminal to a point several kilometers around the rim of the city toward the south, where a new railway station will be built. It is planned to connect the new station with the site of the present station, immediately opposite one of the old Roman baths, by converting the present right-of-way into a beautiful boulevard. This move in itself will free a large area from incumbrances.

There is some talk of extending this boulevard on to Ostia, Rome's historic seaport, when funds are available. This long thoroughfare, which some of the engineers already see bordered by nodding

palm trees and filled with hurrying autos, would bear the name of Mussolini. As yet, however, this seems fairly remote, as it would entail enormous expense without holding promise of much immediate practical gain.

Work on the new workingmen's homes, to the south, has been begun. In the vicinity of the Porta Maggiore the government hopes to create a spacious, open-faced industrial residential district, where workingmen can become owners of their own homes, on the instalment plan. Many new houses have been erected, and a number of old structures renovated. Here, on a part of Rome which the ancients left vacant, Mussolini hopes to create a model workingmen's residential borough. Not far away, Mussolini plans to construct immense public baths, which will come as near to approximating the magnificent institutions of the ancients as modern needs will permit. There will be swimming pools, private baths and shower rooms. Like the old Roman baths, the baths of Mussolini (as they may be called) are to be social centers, and nuclei around which will cluster various modern institutions of pleasure, such as moving picture theaters, billiard halls, cafés, etc. For the athletically inclined there will be tennis courts,

an athletic park, and probably a gymnasium.

To those who know Rome during the summer, the outlay for baths will not appear in the light of a luxury. Rome is an ancient city. Most of the houses, particularly those belonging to working people, completely lack the sanitary conveniences which are considered indispensable in homes in America. As in many parts of Europe, the bathroom is an almost unheard-of rarity in thousands of households. Every summer, for centuries, since the destruction of the ancient baths, Rome has suffered terribly for lack of proper bathing facilities.

The second phase of the regulatory plan is the plan to redeem as much as is possible of ancient Rome. It involves a certain amount of further excavation. It is planned, for instance, to dig up the old Circus Maximus, the most colossal arena in the world, to lay bare what little remains of its low stone bleachers. Today, the Circus is covered partly by a deep layer of turf, partly by a collection of macaroni factories. The factories will be cleared away and moved to Rome's new industrial zone. All the smaller buildings, now adjacent, will be torn down, leaving a broad open terrain leading up to the Circus and the Palatine Hill. The

Ara Pacis, an ancient Roman memorial now buried in one of Rome's slum districts, will be reassembled, in so far as is possible, and reërected on the Capitoline Hill, near the site of the old Roman senate and within view of the Roman Forum.

The mass of unsightly lodging houses and shops surrounding the Colosseum and the Roman Forum are being torn down and cleared away, to leave the center of ancient Rome, a graveyard of Rome's former culture and glory, exposed in the middle of an open terrain. The same thing will be done around the Pantheon, the best-preserved of all relics of the past, now hemmed in by slums. A large open square will take the place of the rows of dingy shopfronts and strings of family washing, which now greet the visitor on all sides as he wanders up to the Pantheon's entrance, and which put him in anything but a proper state of mind to enter one of Rome's most impressive monuments, a hall, the interior of which is almost as exquisite as it was when built.

The Theater of Marcellus, an imposing if mournful bloc of the past, is in the midst of Rome's filthiest "East Side." In its background of family washings, wineshops and notion peddlers, it stands as a mocking reminder of the irony of history. Its

low arches now house dirty hovels of petty trade. In one, a coal merchant sits complacently at the door of his coal bin. In another, is a variety shop. A third harbors a tiny grocery store, and a fourth, an old clothes shop. Inside, part of the gardens formerly connected with the theater are still preserved. American Ambassador Child formerly lived in a palace which formed part of the old structure. Almost around the corner are the beautiful little Temple of Vesta, once the Temple of the Sun, in the dungeon of which were confined Vestal Virgins who had broken their vow of chastity, and the Temple of Fortuna Virilis, where Rome's young men came to be blessed. This region is strewn with fragments and tiny relics.

It has been said that the Colosseum furnished material for the building of half of Rome. During the Middle Ages, when a prince or churchman wanted to erect a palace, the fashion was to send his henchmen to the Colosseum, to gather up a few columns or monuments to use as building material. If the supply in the Colosseum was running low, the Roman Forum was always nearby, and if nothing could be found here, then the orders were to ransack the various "pagan" temples or forums wherever found. The result was a terrible vandal-

ization of Rome's architectural wealth—the Romans themselves did Rome more harm than any barbarians—and a scattering of pathetic bits of beauty throughout the city. In exposed walls of what is now a tenement house one finds exquisite fragments of what was once a Roman cornice, possibly lying on its side, among the brick with which it went to help build a medieval wall. These fragments, with their choice lines and designs, continually peek at you today from midst squalor and drab; little flashes of beauty in a rubbish heap.

While Rome is the central piece of Mussolini's municipal reconstruction scheme, the Dictator's plan reaches out to touch several other Italian cities. Of considerable importance to Italy's future shipping activities are a number of far-reaching port improvement projects, now under way, which will equip Italy with harbor facilities capable of handling the flourishing foreign commerce which Mussolini hopes some day will be the kingdom's prize. Genoa, the birthplace of Columbus, has drawn the biggest plum, Mussolini having announced his intention to equip the harbor with facilities which will make it the first port on the Mediterranean. The dock of Victor Emmanuel II, with wharf space for twenty ocean liners, was com-

pleted and opened for use during the summer of 1928. Almost adjoining lies the large Mussolini dock, of equal size, now under construction, and scheduled to be ready for commerce by the autumn of 1929. Extensive dock improvements are under construction in Venice, once one of the chief Mediterranean ports, which has long been handicapped by a lack of modern harbor facilities. A new port is being built on the mainland behind the island city, which will make Venice one of the best shipping points in Europe. Railway terminals are being installed. The work is expected to be finished in 1929 or 1930. Wharf improvements at Naples will nearly double the docking capacities of the port. The naval base at Spizzia is being enlarged. By 1930 it will be able to accommodate the entire Italian fleet. Palermo's harbor facilities are being improved, and the shipyards at Trieste enlarged.

Even Capri, historic island of romance and adventure and the annual Mecca for thousands of American tourists, figures in the picture. Capri is going to have a modern harbor. Work on the project, which will cost 14,000,000 lire, is expected to be begun shortly. The job will take two years to complete. The plans include the building of a

stone breakwater nearly a quarter of a mile long. This will open Capri to vessels of all sizes during all kinds of weather, throughout the year. It will do away with the necessity of relaying passengers from the vessels to the shore in tiny row boats, a colorful but sometimes none too comfortable feature of the trip to Capri today. None but the smallest launches can land at the existing pier. Virtually all tourists are obliged to clamber down the ship's ladder, balance themselves in the tiny sculls, and then scramble up the slippery stone steps of the pier. In smooth weather this is a lark; in rough weather, it is not so much fun. In stormy weather, ships cannot land at all. During several weeks of the year, Capri is regularly cut off completely from the mainland.

Sponsored by the Fascisti, an architectural redemption campaign has been launched in Florence, the object of which is to restore to the city the architectural harmony which it possessed in the Middle Ages. The few modern house fronts that have crept in to disturb the original architectural purity are to be replaced with designs in harmony with the city's general scheme. Work has been begun on several offending structures near the River Arno.

In Sicily, where lie the ruins of three great civilizations, Mussolini has announced plans for extensive excavations. He proposes to dig out and "restore" a number of ruined cities, built by the Greeks and the Romans, and leave them as monuments to the past. By restore, is meant to free the ruins from the débris and soil which have accumulated on the sites, occasionally partially reconstructing walls with fragments found on the spot.

IX

RESURRECTING A ROMAN COLONY IN AFRICA

ON the northern coast of Africa, along which once swept the war galleys of Carthage, Rome, and later those of Turkey, Italy is entering upon an enterprise which Mussolini hopes will be the most far-reaching colonization project undertaken by Italians since the days of the Romans.

On a stretch of land between France's great African empire to the west and the quasi-British Egyptian territory to the east, Mussolini is trying to re-people with Italians the long-abandoned Roman province of Libia. If he succeeds, the Dictator will have the dual satisfaction of having effected one of the most important colonial enterprises on the Mediterranean in recent centuries—second only to the brilliant efforts of the French in Tunis and Algeria—and of providing a partial solution, at least, of one of Italy's most serious internal problems, that of over-population.

In Italy, the Dictator has set workmen to digging up the ruins of monuments from the débris which the centuries have piled on them. In Africa,

he is undertaking to retrieve for economic use an entire ruined colony, an area that once was one of Rome's richest granaries. He is aiming to restore it to a state where it can serve as home for many of modern Italy's surplus inhabitants, and help supply food for the millions who must live in the peninsula. The significance of the venture will be appreciated when it is recalled that in the days of the Romans, this province possessed an acreage under cultivation more than double the total area under cultivation on the Italian mainland today.

The undertaking is worthy of more than passing notice by members of other nations because of its bearing on Italy's future territorial policy, a feature of Fascism that has caused some uneasiness in Europe.

Can Il Duce succeed here in creating for the country's excess population a "spilling pan" which will absorb a sufficiently large portion of the peninsula's human overflow to relieve the pressure inside Italy? Can Fascist Italy sink itself into North Africa and thereby avoid jostling any of the other Western powers from their present holdings in the "dark" continent?

The Black Shirts have made remarkable progress towards this goal in the short space of time

since they completed the military conquest and pacification of the territory. But there are heavy obstacles which Mussolini must overcome if Libia is to be made into a country fit for the residence of Europeans. The most important is the need for large sums of capital for development purposes. And it is too soon to say whether this need can be met adequately. That a strenuous attempt is to be made is assured. I recall the fervor with which the Dictator told his Fascist colonials in Tripoli, at the end of his tour of the colony, that from thenceforth his full strength would be thrown behind the development of an important colony in Africa. "I assure you that my trip will have an important repercussion in Italy. I will see to it that Italy realizes the possibilities that await here. We are a people who reproduce rapidly, and we are going to continue to do so. Italy is hungry for land. Here is an opportunity to satisfy that hunger. I am going to interest Italian capital in Africa. And I am going to see to it that you get a good class of immigrants, people who have both will and ability."

"There is much to be done here," Mussolini said to me a few hours later, in a conversation on board the cruiser *Venezia*, as the ship lay at anchor in

the beautiful bay of Tripoli. "And it will be done!" he added grimly.

For more than a thousand years this old Roman granary has lain abandoned, serving as a battle ground for Arab tribes or as a meager pasturage for the herds of desert nomads. Since the Moslem conquest of North Africa, shortly after the Hegira, no serious effort has been made to develop the district. Even the Turks, who preceded the Italians as masters of the region, were content to leave things as they were, which is to say, desolate. Of the vast orchards which once covered the terrains, scarcely a trace remained. On the top of a mountain, near Garia, 150 miles inland, I saw a little olive orchard, said to be the descendant of an old Roman plot. It was pointed out with pride by our Italian mentor. Elsewhere the terrain was empty. The ancient fertility of the district seemed as forgotten as were the ruins of its classical cities that dotted the Mediterranean coastline.

Until very recently, little notice had been taken of Libia—which includes the two provinces of Cyrenaica and Tripolitania—even in Italy. It seemed too bleak and void for any practical thought. Italy acquired the territory from Turkey in 1912, but the military conquest of the region

was not completed until 1924. Virtually all the economic development that has taken place dates from this time.

It took no small amount of vision and faith to see a future in the dry, empty wastelands that stretched away seemingly without end, like the vast arid regions of the American Southwest, now also being reclaimed for the use of man. North Africa was one of the first big external problems to receive Mussolini's attention.

Since 1924 the Fascisti have accomplished results that are truly remarkable. Despite the meager supply of capital at its disposal, the colonial government has pushed the exploitation of the territory with a speed that recalls the record of the great reclaimed districts of the United States. Tripolitania has been knit together by a system of paved roadways. The total mileage built is estimated at over 600 miles. The frontier of cultivation has been moved thirty-five miles inland from the coast, sixty miles east along the coast, and about the same distance west. This region is sparsely settled, but includes scattering ranch houses and several small towns—which call to mind the frontier towns of the American Far West). During 1925 the acreage of barley alone

was increased from 125,000 to 400,000 acres. Three hundred thousand new olive trees were set out, bringing the total to 800,000, of which 464,000 are already bearing. Four thousand hectares of new land were prepared to be planted to orchards. Tripolitania has a total of a million date palms, now producing.

That the colony has great possibilities, provided necessary capital is forthcoming, is unquestionable, in my opinion. During the time I was in Tripolitania, I covered some 800 miles of territory. I talked with ranchers and with agricultural experts. The unanimous testimony of the people on the spot, plus what I could see for myself, all bore out this conviction. For ten years I lived in regions in the American Far West which were reclaimed from aridity. The comparison between Tripolitania and the West forced itself upon me continually. It strengthened the belief that, if properly exploited, Tripolitania can become one of the most fertile regions in the Old World, and absorb a large portion of Italy's surplus population for years to come. Dr. Carlo Pinni, head of the Colonial agricultural department, told me that if the present rate of development maintained, Tripolitania would be

able in three years to produce enough vegetables to feed all Italy. All of the four large oases are immense gardens as well as date palm orchards. He believed that by 1940 Tripolitania would once more be able to meet Italy's needs in olives and olive oil, both of which commodities are extensively used in Italian households.

All natural conditions are favorable for the creation of a prosperous agricultural district. The soil is adapted for olive trees, or vegetables; grain to a less degree. The land is fertile, and the cost of reclaiming it is not excessive. Dr. Pinni estimated it at 1,500 lire per hectare in the case of orchard land and half that amount in the case of land intended for grain. As a matter of fact, most of the land now under cultivation is ultimately intended for orchards. The fields are planted with grain for the sake of a limited income while the trees are maturing. Most important of all, artesian water is to be found nearly everywhere at a depth of from 21 to 250 feet beneath the surface. The cost of irrigation is not heavy, once the irrigation system is completed. In this latter feature, Tripolitania surpasses Tunisia, the French protectorate to the west, at which the Italians are cast-

ing longing eyes. Tunisia often has serious water shortages. Tripolitania can be protected against this calamity.

The climate in this part of Africa is similar to that in southern Italy eight months of the year; hotter in the summer. The zone of arable land extends several hundred miles inland from the coast, and agricultural experts say the quality of the soil compares favorably with that of Italy. The total area now under cultivation does not exceed 1% of the territory formerly cultivated by the Romans, according to Dr. Pinni.

The political situation at present is favorable. The territory contains only about 2,000,000 natives, a mere handful for this area, most of whom are passive in temperament. Most of the natives are too ignorant and unlettered to take any active interest in political matters. This mass of humanity is always capable of being ignited by an appeal to religious prejudice, but at the moment this danger is remote. Deprived of their leaders—the Italians have seen to it that the old chiefs who opposed them have been “liquidated”—the natives are inclined to let themselves be governed without protest.

All that I saw indicated that the Italians have

handled the political administration of the colony with acumen and foresight. They have been firm, but not unduly oppressive; they seem to have gained the natives' respect without having aroused unnecessary resentment.

With a native guide, picked up in a café, I visited many Arab homes and native gathering-places in and near Tripoli, after Mussolini returned to Italy. I found plenty of national pride. The Italians were always looked upon as foreign conquerors. But nowhere did I find anything approaching hatred or ill-feeling. The average point of view was that the Italians were better than any foreign rulers that had preceded them, and possibly a shade better than others they could have. This region has been ruled by foreign authority so long that most of its populace have come to look upon this as the natural, normal arrangement. And the country is so large and so sparsely settled that there is ample room for the Europeans without crowding on the toes of the natives. Millions of Italians could easily be poured into the district. The natives never have occupied themselves with the development of the region, having been content to live in the primitive fashion of their ancestors.

The port of Tripoli itself is a striking exhibit of the earnestness of the Italians' recent efforts. When Volpi first arrived, the ocean front was a line of shabby shacks. Today it is fronted with a beautiful cement esplanade and a seawall a mile long. Along the seashore, a strip an eighth of a mile wide and a three-quarters of a mile long has been dotted with new cement buildings, including a large hotel—built for the tourist traffic Tripoli hopes to attract—an opera house, two banks, and a number of business blocks. To the east of the bay on the hillside, one sees an increasing number of villas, built since 1924 by Italian business men and officials. Tripoli's Main Street, the "Via Zizia," in the Italian quarter, has an atmosphere of real briskness, despite the many slow-moving white-robed figures of the Arabs that wander up and down the arcaded sidewalks. One has a feeling of being in a place where things are being done. And of course all that has been done up to the present is a mere scratch on the surface.

As things now are, Italian North Africa offers a happy hunting ground for tourists in search of genuine Arab life, unsullied by the vigorous Europeanization to which large portions of Tunisia, the more popular winter resort for American Mediter-

anean tourists, has been subjected. For while the Italians have been very businesslike on their new farms and in the European quarters of their towns, they have not disturbed the native settlements or attempted to influence native life. They have also had the artistic taste to adapt their buildings to the architectural styles of the zone. Wherever the French have touched, they have set up little bits of Paris. The Italians have utilized the graceful lines and rich ornateness of Moorish architecture. The result is very pleasing to the eye. Tripoli has no street cars, and most of the province still lies unprofaned by Western hands.

I recall the thrill when I first walked from the Governor's palace in Tripoli across the street and through an arched hole in the wall to find myself in the midst of a scene as from the Bible. As far as I could see were white-robed figures, moving at the graceful, easy gait of the East. A camel, its owner stalking majestically beside it, thrust its nose against my ear. Donkeys, with Arab urchins astride their haunches like Joseph, on the Sunday school cards, pushed their way through the crowds. In the vegetable market, I passed long rows of beggars, huddled against the wall. A nearby mosque raised its slender minaret against the clear

African sky. On the outskirts of the city a hundred camels were resting for the night, after a long trip from the interior. Small caravans were arriving from the desert. I passed through street after street of white-washed, one-story houses, from which occasionally issued deeply veiled women and little children, or bright-eyed, open-faced Jewish women. It was a different world. North Africa is a land of intense color, both physically and metaphorically. The sunlight is blinding at times. The garments of the people, all-white, or rich blue, are all of strong colors. The white outlines of the houses stand out vividly against the blue of the sky, or the green of the palms in the oases. The air is so clear one has a feeling of being on top of the world, all but against the sky.

And the life that is lived there seems like a story to the Occidental; the strange customs, strange garbs, and fascinating faces of the natives; the weird religious rites, the minarets from which the priests call to the Faithful, for a Moslem priest is his own church bell; the grotesque, wild native ceremonials during Ramadan, the Moslem Easter, and the half-savage, primitive, lazy routine of the native villagers. It is a stage set for pageants. It brings all things into a dazzling relief. Those of

us who went with Mussolini on his tour of the colony saw this latter feature at its best, of course. I described the premier's arrival at Tripoli. A large part of the tour lived up to the standards of pageantry set by the first day. It was a series of Arabian Nights tableaux. All the way from Tripoli to Sabratha, in the west, our moter caravan was escorted by relays of rapidly galloping Arab cavalrymen. The distance was nearly 70 kilometers. Every town gave a hero's welcome. At Zavia, we saw the "Mad Dance" of Ramadan. The village was echoing with the roll of desert drums as we entered. The square was nearly filled. In the center, in an open space, a score of dervishes were swirling in insane rapture. In his hand, each had a sharp iron instrument, resembling an ice-pick. At the climax of the ceremony, each placed the point of the iron on his abdomen, and the master of ceremonies, an aged fanatic with a white beard, made the rounds, with a wooden mallet in his hand, and drove the irons to their hilt into the bodies of the performers. There was no hypnotism in the affair. I was only three feet away from several of the men. I could see the iron pass into the flesh; afterwards, I saw the hole, after the iron was withdrawn, and the blood. At Zarua, the end

of the day's journey, a thousand mounted Bedouins charged across the desert, their rifles cracking, their white robes streaming behind, their horses at full gallop, in a stirring spectacle of wild beauty.

I remember so well our arrival the next day at Homs, once Leptis Magna, the Roman city that gave birth to Septimius Severus. Homs is now an Arab seaport, marking the eastern extremity of the Zone of cultivation in Tripolitania. The ruins of the Roman settlement lie alongside the town. During the last three years, the Fascisti have dug most of the city out from the sand that had covered it for centuries.

No theatrical extravaganza could have been more beautiful, no carefully arranged stage effect more perfect in detail than the tableau that greeted us that noon, as our motor caravan, exhausts barking, sped up to the fortress. Our high-speed caravan had had a hard drive even for it. We had been racing across the desert since early morning. We left Tripoli at six. The first halt had been at the oasis of Tripoli, which contains the ancient "suk-il-jemma" camel market. Fifteen hundred Arabs, their long arms raised in the Fascist salute, had formed a desert gauntlet down which our cars passed. Then Mussolini personally took the wheel

of his auto, and led the caravan in the fastest spurt it had had. He remained at the wheel for forty kilometers, often attaining a speed of fifty miles an hour. It was all the other cars could do to keep up. We sighted the white outlines of the Moorish fortifications of Homs shortly before noon. Leading the flying cavalcade, like a chieftain of old, Mussolini dashed through the arched gate. The guns in the Italian citadel began booming a salute. The refrain was taken up by scores of tomtoms in the village. From the square in the center of Homs came the sound of several thousand voices: "Rai, rai, rai" (long live) mingled with the weird whine of the pipes, the shrill of desert flutes, and the cries of dervishes. Green posters, plastered on the white walls, welcomed Mussolini as the "new Cæsar of modern Rome." The colorfulness of the costumes outdid anything we had seen, save only the spectacle the first day in Tripoli. The square was a mass of white, blue, and red. Five large red canopies, under which sat Arab pipers, formed the centerpiece of the picture. Tribesmen, their robes flying, danced in front of the tents, while a native drum corps pounded tomtoms and shouted tribal chants. Hundreds of people, some garbed in white, some in blue, some in red, crowded the

roofs of all buildings in sight, their arms raised in salute. Other throngs stood in the streets. Rich Arab tapestries, draped from upper balconies, stood out sharply on the white walls of the houses. Italian flags fluttered from every point of vantage. Above us the sky was of deepest blue. At the end of one street, we could see the blue of the Mediterranean. In the center of this scene, stood an Arab sheik, with his hand resting on the neck of a black stallion; the saddle was of black velvet, the trimmings were of silver. In making his speech of welcome, the Arab leader presented the horse to Mussolini, hailing the Dictator as "a vivifier of men, a distributor of courage, water come to quench the thirst of dry Africa," etc.

That afternoon, Mussolini inspected the ruins of the Biblical city. Leptis Magna was an important Mediterranean trading center in the time of Christ. It was founded by the Phœnicians. It is one of the best-preserved of all the ruined cities on the Mediterranean, having been protected by layers of sand blown over it by the desert winds. It has had a rich history. It figured prominently in the wars between Cæsar and Pompey. It next entered the spotlight as the birthplace of Septimius Severus, the first African-born to rule the Roman

Empire. Septimius Severus built the magnificent palace, ruins of which may be seen today, the forum, and the baths. Arabs partly destroyed the city in the fourth century. Since then it has lain silent under the sands.

The trip through the entire province was a strange succession of glimpses of vigorous, modern pioneer life, new towns built by the Italians, occasional lonely ranch houses, in the middle of plains that recalled the American desert, and stirring Arabian tableaux depicting a life that Occidentals know only in story books. With startling suddenness, one plunged from the twentieth century back into the era of Christ, and vice-versa. On one mountain top, in the south, where the hot winds of the Sahara blend with the softer currents that blow over the arable zone, we found an entire Arab city, built twenty to thirty feet beneath the surface of the ground. In the subterranean passages of this little city, in houses some of which contain chambers of rare primitive beauty, pulses the daily life of a little city that is unique in Africa, and which probably has few duplicates anywhere in the world.

In Tripolitania, Garia marks the place where civilized man's sphere ends and nature resumes

her sultry dominion. To the south, the land drops off in gradually declining mountain terraces until the eye finally loses the scene in the shimmering nothingness of the desert. To the north, the land recedes in graceful ravines and picturesque little mountain ranges until it flattens out in the arid prairies which the Italians are trying to restore to their former fertility.

The mountain itself stands some 3,000 feet above sea level. On the peak is an Italian military garrison, one of the southernmost outposts of the force that holds Tripolitania. Outlined against the blue, one sees the profiles of some six or seven spacious buildings, which house one of the colonial army's "mobile" detachments, a fully equipped miniature regiment, that is capable of being moved quickly about the territory in high-speed motor lorries in case of emergency. This flying squadron has comparatively little work to do today, for the Italians have established their authority very firmly. But it remains, ready on the spot to deal with the occasional outlaw bands that still present themselves once in a while along the southern frontier of the colony.

But the real Garia, the Arab city, is concealed, deep in the mountain. While the Italian sentries

pace in front of the white cement buildings that represent Italy's dominion above the ground, the old Arabic city inside the mountain carries on its primitive native life in the fashion that has been its wont for centuries.

One above the other, the two settlements have their independent existences. On top are the habitations of the European conquerors, descendants of ancient Rome; beneath is the strange subterranean city of the subject people, also a very old race. When the inhabitants of the Arab Garia issue forth into the sunlight, they become obedient subjects of Italy. But once they disappear into one of the numerous rabbit-holes which lead down to their under-the-earth abodes, they go to do as they please in the manner of their fathers.

To the visitor, coming in an auto, the Arab city is invisible. Before the Italians built their barracks, the mountain top lacked the slightest sign of the presence of man. Even today the visitor can easily miss seeing any surface evidence of the existence of the Arab Garia, so perfectly concealed are the entrances to its strange labyrinth. I was in Garia nearly an hour, wandering up and down streets with Italian officers, before I saw any physical evidence of the underground city. I have never

seen a more perfect example of natural camouflage.

But if the visitor will wander cautiously about over the mountain top he will now and then come upon a place that looks like the mouth of a shell-hole. If he will examine closely, crawl up the rim of this pit and peer inside, he will find himself looking down what seems to be a dry well, but which proves to be an air shaft, rising from one of the subterranean houses. If he continues to peer—if indeed the surface opening of the pit has been freed from its covering of brush wood or turf—he will see the forms of several women moving about in the bottom of the pit, in their daily household duties. A little child may be playing in the circle of sunlight that reaches the lower level of the village. Or a white-robed patriarchal figure, that of the head of the household, may be seen crossing on his way from one room to another.

Despite press credentials, it took me twenty minutes' resolute overtures with various Italian officers before I was able to arrange for permission to go underground. One after another shrugged his shoulders and politely informed me that it usually wasn't done and that he personally doubted if it could be. But finally I found a man with enough stars on his coat-sleeve and enough enthusiasm

over the newspaper profession to call one of the native guardsmen to accompany me.

My guide was a young Moroccan who spoke a little French. The native troops are always imported: the Tripolitanians police Cyrenaica and the Cyrenaicans Tripolitania. And there are always a few adventurers from other African colonies that creep in among the ranks.

We started up the main street of the military post, and turned up the road toward the aviation field. Our autos had passed down this road on entering, and although I had looked carefully, I had seen no trace of native dwellings. Suddenly we turned to one side and found ourselves entering what looked like a rough ditch, between two natural banks of earth. Perhaps fifteen feet beyond, there was a bend, and the ditch broadened into a regular passageway. Some ten feet further was an open door, partly screened by a thatched porch of turf and brush. Near it lounged two or three Arabs, in their white robes.

Our appearance caused an immediate stir. One of them promptly vanished down the rabbit's hole, to ask permission for us to enter and also—as I learned later—to tell the women of the household to make themselves absent. He returned pres-

ently, all smiles, and we entered the subterranean corridor. Dark as it was, I could make out that the walls were whitewashed. The floor dropped fairly precipitately, in steps and terraces, as the passageway wound down into the earth.

Finally the corridor again became bright and we stepped out into the daylight, into a large underground dome or bell-shaped cavern. At its top, I could see an open hole and a small circle of blue sky. This was the central court of a house, comparable to the inner court which is a feature of all Moorish or Spanish dwellings. From this, several doors opened. Three Arabs, one of whom had a long white beard, came forward to welcome me. It was like stepping into the midst of a scene in a fable of Aladdin.

The walls of the court were stained light red. Some ten feet above our level was a small balcony, evidently the opening of another floor of the house, reached from inside.

My host led us into the sitting room, a compartment cut from the earth, and possessing a dome-shaped ceiling. All the rooms I saw had this round ceiling. The walls were tinted a delicate yellowish-brown, similar to that often found on Arab vases. The workmanship was perfect, the

hard earth having been smoothed until it resembled plaster. The decorations were a few mural designs which contained conventional flowers and leaves and—incongruous as it may sound—occasional fishes, the Arab sign reputed to ward off ill fortune.

A cord hung from the ceiling, suspending a chandelier of exquisite bronze art craft. The chandelier held a single olive oil lamp, which looked like a huge tumbler, half-filled with fluid. The floor was covered by a mat. Smaller mats were scattered along the wall, to serve as "chairs." A tea set stood at one side. This was the compartment's only furnishing. It strikingly illustrated the complete simplicity of Arab life, a feature that has made this desert race one of the longest-lived folk groups on earth. This was the house of one of the prominent men of the town.

Recrossing the court, we visited the bed room. It was tinted a beautiful light blue. There were "beds" at both ends of the room: mattresses, with bed clothes, spread on low matted platforms raised about a foot above the level of the floor. Near one bed was a small mirror. This time, the lamp hung at the end of a brass arm anchored in one wall.

The dining room or kitchen, whichever it was called—there was no communication between the chambers except through the court—was equally devoid of furnishing. At one end was the door of the storeroom, which theoretically contained a year's supply of edibles—grains, flour. When the householders ate inside, they sat on the floor, their legs crossed. There was little need for a buffet. Usually the diners ate with their fingers, occasionally speeding matters up when it came to the liquid parts, by means of a large spoon. Most of the cooking was done on a "stove" outside in the court. This stove looked like a square tin can, with a place for a tiny firepan at its base. Only a single frying pan or pot could be heated at one time. The *pièce de résistance* of this, as of all Arab "tables" is a dish called "koos-koos," a mixture containing bits of soft mutton, rice, a few vegetables, grain and mustard. It is a meal in itself. Most of this can be eaten with the fingers.

When there are guests, the men and women dine separately. The Arab meal has no dessert, although in the coastal towns the Arabs make delicious honey cakes, containing crushed nuts, to be eaten between meals.

The time when the social side of the native life

comes forth is during the afternoon, when the men sit around the teapots and chat. One of their number presides at the urn, which boils over a tiny coal firepan. When the tea is done—it is much thicker and sweeter than our tea—he aerates it by pouring it solemnly from one glass to another, until a foam an inch thick collects at the top of each tumbler. Then, if he wishes to extend unusual courtesy, he produces a pan of roasted peanuts and drops a small handful into each glass just before the tea is handed around.

It is only at Garia that the Arabs live underground. Further to the west, in Algeria and Morocco, there are places where some of the savage Bedouins inhabit caves, but nowhere in Africa is there another living city literally in the bowels of the earth. Elsewhere, the Arabs live in tents, earth huts, or, in the oases, in beautiful little white-washed huts that nestle underneath the tall date palms.

X

MUSSOLINI AND THE CHURCH

ONE of the most important political achievements of the Fascist administration, from the point of view of the internal unity of the country, has been the rapprochement between the church and the state. After nearly a century of intense rivalry—a rivalry which at times has shaken the foundations of Italy and which once threatened to split the nation in two—the Vatican and the royal Italian government are finally moving slowly but unmistakably towards a reconciliation.

A number of minor details remain to be settled, and the series of political maneuvers between the two centers of authority in Rome is still unfinished. But events which have taken place since January, 1926, coupled with an impressive series of incidents since the Fascisti seized power, leave no doubt regarding the presence of two strong currents which are bringing the Holy See and the Quirinal together. The Roman question, a thorn in Italy's internal politics since the middle of the last century (and phases of which have figured in

European international relations since the time of Charlemagne) at last has reached a stage where final settlement seems a matter of time.

This rapprochement actually began soon after Mussolini moved into the Chigi Palace. For several years it went on quietly behind the scenes, unknown to the public. Overt, if unofficial, negotiations and policy-revealing actions by both sides in 1926 brought the matter into the foreground, however, and what well-posted observers think is one of the final phases of the diplomatic word play commenced.

When final bridging of the gulf between the two rival powers will actually take place is difficult to predict, owing to the peculiar psychological background of this politico-religious issue. Some believe an agreement may be reached during the next few years. Nearly all except a few of the most irreconcilable Papists believe that the next decade should see final peace in Rome and the Pope no longer a self-imposed "prisoner" in the Vatican.

An official commission is engaged at present in trying to work out an acceptable revision of the old Guarantee Laws, the codes regulating relations between church and state which have been so bitterly opposed by the Vatican since their enact-

ment half a century ago, for presentation to Parliament. Unofficial observers, to borrow the American phrase, from the Vatican are coöperating with the government jurists.

So rapidly did events move during part of 1926 that the Vatican grew alarmed at the prospect of a premature climax, and felt impelled to issue several public statements, designed to calm popular expectations. These utterances pointed out that the governmental commission did not contain an authorized and official representation from the church; hence its findings were not "binding" on the Vatican. The children of the church were reassured that the Pope would never recognize such findings, as long as the injustice of the present position of the church continued, or unless the findings were the result of action in which the church had a regular part.

In appraising this expression, which may seem decidedly negative on its surface, it must be borne in mind that it was couched in old world diplomatic-phraseology. "*La parole cache la pensée.*" Second, the Italian government was and is ready to give the Vatican an official place in the committee and to coöperate with it in revamping the laws—a proviso which the Pope mentioned as a condi-

tion for recognizing an award. Third, previously the Vatican had not only refused to recognize any action of the state but declined to enter into any parleys except on the basis of virtual concession to its claims in advance. The manifesto contained an admission that some working agreement was not inconceivable.

Again, in the spring of 1928 there occurred what turned out to be a tea-kettle storm in the relations between the two, the dispute over the Catholic Boy Scouts organization in Italy. The incident received considerable attention in the press abroad, and for a time seemed to presage trouble. It was precipitated by a social blunder on the part of the Italian National Central Party, a body composed of factions of the Central Catholic Party which had adhered to Fascism. The party held its convention this year in the Capitol at Rome, instead of in the Vatican, where the Catholic Party had been wont to meet of old. At the convention, speeches were made applauding recent developments in relations between the church and state and painting conditions at that time in a rosy hue. At the end of the conclave, the leaders had an audience with Mussolini but neglected to call on the Pope.

Scarcely a week later the Pope, in receiving the

Diocesan Council of Rome, read a statement reprimanding the Catholic Party for going so far in its declarations, particularly for the liberty it took upon itself in presuming to express the church's attitude toward Fascism. To the horror of friends of rapprochement, the Holy Father went on to reiterate the old position of the Vatican that the church had been despoiled by the Italian state, particularly criticising certain attempts at monopoly of the education of the youth. He concluded by giving the impression that many wrongs still had to be righted before the church's golden age in Italy could be ushered in.

Mussolini promptly retaliated with a decree ordering the dissolution within thirty days of the Catholic Boy Scouts, which had been permitted in cities of more than 20,000 population, and adding that thereafter the Balilli, the Junior Fascist organization, would assume the entire physical, moral, and spiritual education of the Italian youth. All of which did not sound too jolly, to be sure.

There ensued a series of confidential diplomatic exchanges between the Chigi Palace and the Vatican, the results of which gradually came to the surface in the form of a sequence of public statements from both sides. First came an announce-

ment from Mussolini that the decree was aimed only at such Catholic Boy Scout organizations as could be assimilated into the Balilli. Soon after this, the *Osservatore Romano*, the official organ of the Vatican, published a statement modifying and softening the Pope's recent declarations. It was explained that the Pope did not intend to attack any particular régime, but that the statement was made applying generally over so many populations and countries which fondly and trustingly hear and believe the words, and that the Pope had made no complaint against the rights allowed Catholics as Italian citizens. The writer added significantly that there can be fruitful harmony between church and state, each attending to the duties for which it is best suited. After a mild protest against the dissolution of the Boy Scouts, the coda was added, "The Spiritual mission of education belongs to the church, which in no wise aims or endeavors to supplant the government in the fulfilment of its own special educational duties."

Following this utterance, Mussolini notified the Vatican that with the assimilation of the Catholic Boy Scouts by the Balilli, he desired the church to take over the spiritual training of the whole Balilli organization.

Thus the final upshot of the affair was that the Church's position was, if anything, slightly strengthened, in that its influence was extended to a nation-wide governmental organization, this influence receiving definite state recognition. The exchange of views also afforded an opportunity for both groups to rid themselves of a certain amount of pent-up feeling—which was wholesome—and at the end left the skies as bright, if not a trifle more friendly than before.

I have gone into such detail in these two episodes because they typify the intricacies of this extremely involved but important situation and illustrate the technique employed, a technique which is not always adequately appreciated in the United States.

Although reconciliation of the church and state has been an objective of many Italian statesmen in times past, and although the roots of the present situation have their origin in international developments culminating at the end of the World War, the final impetus in the rapprochement has been supplied since the Fascist *coup d'état*. So intensely had the attention of the world been fixed on the dramatic moves of the Italian Dictator in the field of lay politics, that generally it had failed

to notice his persistent, if more closely veiled, efforts in the domain of ecclesiastical matters, a sphere which has a place in national life in Italy which is difficult for the non-Catholic part of America to appreciate. The actual evolution of things proceeded so slowly and unobtrusively that it was not until early in 1926, when events brought the matter forcibly into public view, that Italy itself awakened to the fact that the long dream of Italian unity was nearing. Then the press, both lay and church, suddenly and significantly, became vocal on the subject. Representatives of both Vatican and Quirinal began permitting themselves to be interviewed, sometimes to enter into a veritable press debate.

The first public revelation of the revolution which had taken place in the Vatican's attitude was occasioned by the death, in January, 1926, of the Queen Mother, whose father-in-law, King Victor Emmanuel II, was the chief cause of the breach. For the first time in history, the Holy See participated officially in national ceremonies commemorating the death of an Italian sovereign. Of his own initiative, the Pope ordered memorial services to be held in every Metropolitan church in Italy. On instructions from the Vatican, Catholic cardi-

nals in regions all along the route taken by the funeral train, personally went to the stations, entered the funeral coach, and blessed the Queen's body. For the first time in Italian history, the College of Cardinals at the Vatican took part as a body in the royal funeral at Rome, when the Queen's coffin was placed in the Pantheon.

From quasi-official utterances and statements by Mussolini, it is possible to piece together a fair idea of the broad lines of the compromise now in sight. That it is to be a compromise, goes without saying. The Vatican has intimated that it would not be averse to recognizing the temporal authority of the Italian government in Italy—a recognition which has been withheld ever since Victor Emmanuel's troops captured Rome from the Papal soldiers in 1870—and even to accept the so-called Guarantee Laws which the Quirinal created in 1871 to regulate the relations between church and state, provided (1) the government will concede to the Pope a small district where the Pope is to be king by his own right; and (2) provided the Guarantee Laws are reexamined and revised by a joint committee composed of representatives of both church and state.

The probable dénouement of the first proviso,

according to well-informed persons, is allocation to the Pope of a part of Rome known as the City of Leo (Leonina Citta), a borough containing St. Peter's, the Vatican, and the religious city built by Pope Leo X. In this district, the Pope might be recognized as temporal as well as spiritual ruler. How far the Fascist government will finally go in this matter is uncertain. There is little likelihood that the Italian government will grant the Pope's demand for a free port.

The revision of the Guarantee Laws, which, among other things, provide for a stipend or appropriation for the Vatican, is not expected to offer serious difficulty. The Pope's principal objection to recognizing these laws hitherto has been that this action would involve recognition of the Italian government. A further complaint has been that the Vatican was not represented on the committee which compiled them. Both of these objections would, of course, automatically disappear in the event envisaged.

In return for these concessions, the Italian government would reap an important gain in popular prestige and in the removal of an issue which has been a disturbing factor in internal affairs ever since the collapse, in 1840, of the attempt to form

a federal union in Italy under the presidency of the Pope.

The antagonism between the royal house of Savoy and the popes began as early as the first half of the nineteenth century, when the kings of Piedmont first put forward their plan for a united Italy, with Rome as its capital. The antipathy received additional fuel in 1856, when the Piedmontian ruler appropriated certain lands belonging to Catholic bishops and monasteries, taking over some of the buildings themselves for official purposes. The royal government took the position that the church was already top-heavy with possessions, and that the nation needed the properties for public use. The state offered the church an indemnity, plus annual stipends to be paid to the priests themselves. But the Vatican categorically denied the government's right to condemn the property, and insisted that the compensation was so small that the act amounted to robbery.

When, in 1870, after the failure of a series of diplomatic maneuvers, King Victor Emmanuel finally sent his troops to occupy Rome by force, the pope withdrew into the Vatican, refused to have any relations with the Italian government, or

to recognize its authority, as a protest against its usurpation of the rights of the Holy See.

Although the king's troops had conquered the pope's soldiers, the king's diplomats found a much more formidable opposition in the Holy Father's diplomatic agents. In the political entourage of the Vatican, there survived a stiffness of will which nothing could bend, and an adeptness in the technique of diplomatic maneuver that made itself felt in multifold ways to the discomfiture of the temporal authorities. With the royal Italian state at its back door, so to speak, the Vatican turned to other strong Catholic powers for protection. The pope drew around himself a diplomatic barricade which continued up to the end of the World War. It was not until the fall of Austria, the outstanding protector of the Holy See, that the Vatican's position showed signs of softening. At this time, also, a new wave of religious thought was beginning to sweep the Continent.

For the average American, thousands of miles away, and surrounded by an atmosphere intrinsically different from that of the Old World, it is difficult to visualize the bitterness of the silent, carefully-screened struggle that took place between

the rival centers of authority in Italy during the last half century. To the average American, the matter has always been little more than a phrase, too remote from the world in which he lived to be felt acutely. Many looked upon it, in fact, as a hobgoblin which had been created by religious propagandists, something which had its existence principally in the vocabulary of religious prejudice.

To the millions of Italians, nearly all of whom were Catholics, the clash was something immediate and poignant. It was a situation that literally divided the hearts of millions between the pope, for whom they had a feeling of personal loyalty as head of their church, and the king, to whom went their fealty as Italian citizens. It is no exaggeration to say that during long periods Italy was a country divided against itself. The suppressed force of this struggle between the two contending authorities touched in one form or other almost all phases of national life.

Until the restriction was removed by Pope Pius X, devout Catholics were actually forbidden to take part in any of the civil activities of the state. As late as the beginning of this century, society was split into two factions, those who sided with the Vatican and those who stood behind the govern-

ment. The common people, of course, were confused. In the intellectual circles, a government partisan could not mingle freely with clerical sympathizers without incurring the suspicion of faint-heartedness in his sentiments towards the government.

Priests, going to confer the last sacrament upon pro-government Catholics, covered their sacred robes with the black robe of every-day wear, when passing through the streets, lest their action be noted and looked upon as a sign of quasi-disloyalty to the cause of the church. To an American, born to the easy-going, unconventional life of the New World, such things may seem trivial. They were not trivial in Italy. Although, for humanitarian reasons, the church tolerated the practice of conferring the sacrament for the dying on anti-clericals, technically the act was a violation of the papal order against all who had given comfort to the church's enemies. As late as 1910, men died under the ban of excommunication—the severest penalty that can be imposed upon a Catholic—for the crime of having, in their young manhood, purchased parcels of the land which the state seized from the church.

Until the World War, the Italian flag was never permitted inside a Catholic church.

Another important feature was the so-called Free Mason question. Since the time of Garibaldi, who was a Mason, many of the principal military and civil posts in the Italian administration had been held by Masons. In Italy, as in all Latin countries, Masonry is the center of anti-Catholic activities. This circumstance of course helped to stiffen the back of the official groups, and to increase the coolness of the clericals.

Despite efforts of men on both sides who desired a reconciliation, the gulf between the Vatican and the Quirinal remained wide until the World War.

As already remarked, a new wave of thought commenced to move across the Continent about this time, and the Vatican did not escape its influence. At the same time the powerful foreign allies upon whose support the Vatican had hitherto been able to count, collapsed to nothing. Austria ceased to exist. France fell into the hands of Socialist anti-clericals. Spain was loyal, but a second-rate power.

Another strong factor which operated for a new atmosphere in the City of Leo was the enormous sacrifices thousands of Italian priests had made

during the War. When the War was declared, the Italian priesthood, almost as a body, dropped their robes and went to the battlefield. These priests naturally were eager to see a reconciliation.

When Mussolini seized the government in 1922, he was quick to take advantage of the opportunity. Realizing the loss in national unity which the cleavage meant for Italy, he promptly took a stand for a rapprochement. By his own personal example and by means of exhortations to his followers, he went out of his way to demonstrate the Fascist administration's friendliness for the Vatican.

When and how the first actual contact took place is impossible to say. In Europe, such things are usually managed indirectly, until negotiations have reached an advanced stage. Certain it is that less than a year after the second capture of Rome, a noticeable change had become manifest in the Holy See. On the occasion of the first parliamentary elections, the Vatican officially declared "neutrality" in the civil war which was then stirring Italy, and ordered the priests to keep out of the political arena. Political wise-acres looked upon this as a benevolent neutrality, however, in that it gave Mussolini a free hand.

Mussolini soon responded with measures increasing the church's influence in civil matters. First, he sanctioned the founding of a Catholic university at Milan, the degree of which was to be equal to the degree of a state university. He ordered that the *Te Deum* be sung at all national festivals and demonstrations. He officially declared war on the Free Masons, the church's greatest enemies, and passed a law forbidding secret societies. He reintroduced religious services into the public schools and stipulated that religious instruction, under the tutelage of the church, be a regular part of the curriculum. Teachers were required to have completed a course in religious pedagogy at some church college. And finally, he increased the stipends or salaries which the priests had been receiving from the state treasury since 1856.

The Vatican commenced to emerge from its aloofness, and to manifest a friendly interest in civil affairs for the first time in Italian history. Priests were permitted to say open masses in public squares on national holidays—a privilege theretofore refused. Clergymen known to favor reconciliation were in many cases pushed into the foreground in church councils. Cardinal Maffi, who

had been publicly reprimanded by the Vatican for having blessed an Italian war flag in 1915, was reinstated as one of the chief spokesmen of the church.

Throughout 1926 and 1927, the atmosphere in the City of Leo brightened steadily, and in many ways the Pope let it be known that the frown was no longer as severe as it used to be, in fact that it was beginning to become a smile. On the occasion of the Zaniboni incident, the Pope publicly expressed joy that Mussolini had been saved from an assassin's bullet. Towards the end of the Holy Year, the Vatican officially thanked the state for having maintained the land in tranquillity throughout the period of pilgrimages. A little later he made a Christmas gift of 6,000,000 lire to the employés of the state railways for their courtesies and services to pilgrims on the way to Rome.

The Pope had already greatly strengthened the government's hand by publicly condemning the Socialist movement, and forbidding good Catholics to give comfort to the Socialist cause. Although this declaration took the form of a pronouncement to the Catholic world at large, its principal effect was in Italy, where it brought about an immediate rupture between Catholic political groups and the

more liberal Socialists, a coalition which might have disturbed Mussolini.

The story of the pope's temporal dominion at Rome, and of his claim to recognition as a temporal sovereign, takes one back 1,500 years. When Constantine departed on one of his expeditions into the Orient, legend has it, he formally passed the civil scepter at Rome over to Silvester I, then pope, creating him temporal ruler of Italy. This claim was formally advanced by the church centuries later; in support of it, a document was produced which was said to have been written by Constantine, confirming the donation.

This document was universally accepted as genuine for many centuries, and was publicly brought forth at the time of the coronation of Charlemagne at Rome. It was not until the fourteenth century that any one seriously challenged its authenticity. Then scholars, principally ecclesiastics, happened to note several discrepancies in its construction.

Each important era in Roman history had its peculiar style of writing. This extended to the form of the letters themselves. In the Augustinian era, for instance, the alphabet contained only capital letters, as we use the term. Smaller letters there were, but they were miniature upper case

characters. This alphabet, with minor variations, was still prevalent at the time of Constantine. By the time of Charlemagne, however, fundamental changes had taken place in the style of writing. Small letters, as we know them, had not been actually introduced, but the form of the reduced capitals had been altered radically. Little flourishes had been introduced, the body of the letters had been squeezed together. Careful scrutiny of the document developed the fact that it was written not in the handwriting of Constantine's time, but in characters which were prevalent at the time of Charlemagne, some hundreds of years later.

At this time, however, the discipline of the church was so severe that the matter was hushed up. It did not become public until a century later, when it became such a scandal that the church authorities decided to say nothing more about the document, which soon became an object of only academic interest.

From that time on, the Vatican rested its claims to temporal sovereignty over Rome on a practical and concrete ground, namely that of having been the *de facto* government and actual political and military defender of Rome for a number of centuries.

For hundreds of years, the popes were actual kings at Rome, and defended the city and its territory by force of arms. Their armies repelled wave after wave of invading barbarians. In a very real sense, the pope was the defender of Italy. It was Pope Leo I who finally stopped Attila. History records that the papal armies checked the famous Hun's progress in front of Rome. Popular legend has it that the pope then went out to meet the Hun leader personally, and impressed him so with the strength of his personality and his superiority as a human being, that Attila dropped on his knees in token of fealty.

XI

FASCISM AND FEMINISM

FROM the perspective of the woman's rights problem, modern Italy presents an intriguing field of study, both on account of conditions themselves and the manner in which the problem is being approached. Italy is a land under the sway of many of the social traditions of the past. In no sphere is this more conspicuous than in the status of woman. In no European country can the student of social affairs find a more fascinating laboratory in which to view the problem of sex equality in all its various stages of evolution. For in modern Italy is to be found a sample of nearly every cycle of the feminist movement, in its advance from the very beginning to its most modern form.

The Italian Feminist movement is not a product of the Fascist Revolution. It originated in changed economic conditions brought about by the World War. But it is since 1922 that the cause has made its principal advance in Italy, and has entered the national picture as a definite and

permanent factor. Feminism has gained most of its prominence as a movement in the interval covered by the Fascist régime. It has profited to an extent from the new drift of events and from the more receptive state of mind in official circles in Rome since the government was taken over by the young Black Shirts. The woman's rights issue was a new idea for Italy, and managed to get itself to the fore among the various other new social ideas with which the Fascisti have been tinkering. For this reason, the movement deserves a place in any survey of Fascist Italy. Its difficulties throw another illuminating light on the human background of the present.

The Feminist movement, as such, is a very recent phenomenon in Italy. It still is small, compared with the dimensions the movement has attained in the Anglo-Saxon countries of the world. It is entirely a product of the last decade. While women of intelligence and ability have always played a part in the political development of Italy, as they did in all lands long before they became a problem, their rôle up to the World War was one that was enacted behind the scenes. On several occasions, women have had a decisive influence on the political destiny of the country. The Countess

of Castiglione (Cavour's cousin and Napoleon III's mistress) figured prominently in Franco-Italian relations during Italy's early struggles for independence, according to modern historians. The story of her intrigue at the French court forms a fascinating chapter of Italian history. One Italian princess fought behind the barricades in several battles of the war of freedom. Incidents of this sort were rare, of course, and of interest principally as exceptions to the rule. In the cases where women made themselves felt in politics, the technique used was invariably that of the drawing-room or boudoir. Until the World War, woman had no place in front of the curtain on the political stage, and until 1915, virtually no attempt was made to change the social equilibrium of the sexes. Woman had her place and she kept it.

In large portions of rural Italy, notably in southern and central sections of the peninsula, woman's status at the opening of the World War was almost the same as it was a thousand years ago. Northern Italy was more developed. Here the emancipation of women had begun. But in countless villages and towns south of Florence, woman remained in a condition of medieval subservience. Social customs marked out for her a

life of labor inside the home and an existence to be gone through in a spirit of humility and respectful obedience. Any woman with the temerity to try to break away from the domestic limits drawn around her life by tradition did so at the price of public disapproval and social ostracism. In many parts of southern Italy, education was looked upon as something verging upon the immoral so far as women were concerned. In many more remote districts this still is true. Higher education was likely to take a woman from her rightful place and to cultivate an unbecoming spirit of independence. As late as 1910, the departure of a daughter of the household for college was an event that brought sorrow and shame to any self-respecting family in southern rural Italy. I personally know one young woman, of twenty-seven, a Sicilian, who was estranged from her family for ten years as a result of her decision to enter the university. She earned her own expenses, and after ten years, won a doctor's title. The glamor of the Ph.D. finally brought about a reconciliation with her relatives.

Until the passage, in 1917, of the Rights Bill, woman's legal position was little above that of a chattel de luxe. She did not have the right to buy or sell property, nor to manage whatever holdings

had been given her. If she wished to dispose of her property, she had to do so through a male agent, usually some relative. Even today, Italian statutes are full of clauses dealing with woman as an inferior being. In the upper classes, as is reflected by Italian literature, she enjoyed a position in the drawing-room of some distinction. A halo of romance hung about her; she was the target for every *beau geste* perpetrated in her presence. And Italy was never without a small group of highly educated women. But the hard realism of life in the lower half of society, and the black and white of Italy's written statutes, gave woman a social rank far below that of man. In many homes of the urban working classes and of the peasants, she was actually little above a domestic. Social customs disposed of her as a child or immature person—as in truth she often was, by virtue of conditions. The consequence of all this naturally was that the mass of the Italian women have remained undeveloped, as compared with their northern sisters. In rural districts in southern Italy, the medieval custom of bartering away daughters on the marriage market existed, to all intents and purposes, as late as this century. In many districts, it still persists, in practice if not in

theory. Social tradition tolerates parentally-arranged marriages, in fact, prescribes that way of dealing with the matter. In many smaller villages, the ancient professional match-maker still plies her trade, circulating from house to house in the pursuit of her work-a-day trade, and collecting fees on the side for all weddings she is able to negotiate. Usually this person is a community seamstress, washwoman, or peddler. In these negotiations, the onus usually falls upon the father of the bride, who, of course, must furnish a dowry. The dowry, incidentally, normally varies in accordance with the esthetic qualities of the prospective bride. "Heavens! What a dowry she will have to have!" is a popular way of conveying the idea that a young woman is not as pretty as she might be. Many a happy father has groaned aloud in Italy, upon being informed that his child had been born a daughter. A family of daughters is an economic calamity, and can spell bankruptcy for the father if the market insists strictly on good dowries. There always were exceptions, of course. Love will find a way. Elopements were not unheard of. But the facts of the case from the point of view of social conventions rested on the premises of customs a thousand years ago in large portions of

Italy until very recently, and still do, in many regions. It is only in the north of Italy, and in some of the larger cities, that the "emancipation" has been carried into the daily life of the people to any great extent.

The turn came as a result of the economic upheaval effected throughout the country by the World War. Since then, there has been a slow, but steady improvement in woman's position. The pioneers in the enterprise had the wisdom to extend woman's political rights gradually, the theory being to give her a chance to grow into each new sphere as it was created. This laboratory method of dealing with the problem was continued by the Fascisti, and has the indorsement of leaders of the Feminist movement itself.

The woman's rights issue was forced upon the country in a dramatic way soon after Italy entered the conflict. For the first time in history, national necessity brought the women of all Italy out of the seclusion of their homes and into the industries and civic activities of the country. While the men were away at war, women ran the country. The political machine remained in the men's hands, but the women took over a large part of the nation's economic organism. Women filled the men's places

in the factories. They operated the street cars and served as conductoresses on the railroads. They worked as street sweepers and garbage collectors in the cities. They ran the farms and the vineyards. Although this same phenomenon occurred in all the belligerent lands in Europe, it was epochal in Italy, social customs being what they were.

The remarkable showing the women made, despite their lack of background and seeming lack of development, during these years won for them the first official recognition by the government their sex had ever received. For the first time in Italian history, it was officially admitted that woman was entitled to some of the legal prerogatives of a mature human being. This recognition took the form of the Rights Bill of 1917, which gave Italian women the right to manage their own business interests.

At about this time, the Italian Feminist movement made its bow as an organized body, and commenced its struggle for a general improvement in the legal and social status of the members of the weaker sex. This was the first time Italian women had made any organized and persistent attempt to further their own political interests by themselves.

They had a tremendous amount of social prejudice to face in taking this step, of course. For notwithstanding the recognition by the Quirinal, the ideas of the common people in the villages and in many working quarters remained unmoved, and the whip of public disapproval was almost as ready as ever to descend upon insurgents who challenged established concepts. The movement's initial reputation suffered further from the fact that during its early days it naturally attracted a number of detached women whose personal lives were not above reproach. The presence of this element in the organization not only gave the movement something of a "black eye" in public esteem, but for a while kept many women of refinement who otherwise would have loaned their energy from joining up with the venture. The Feminist movement as such is only now beginning to outgrow this early ill repute, and to attract a large proportion of women of the finest type.

Internal conditions were too turbulent in Italy during the first four years after the War for much constructive attention to the question of woman's status. Very soon after Mussolini seized power, however, an economic phase of the problem forced itself upon his notice, the problem of woman's place

in industry. In Italy, as in all European lands, the end of the War found women in active operation of a large part of the nation's industry. Many had been holding their jobs successfully for several years, and did not choose to fly away home the moment the hostilities terminated. The taste of economic independence was intoxicating, and an appreciable proportion elected to go on earning their own living. The result, of course, was that a labor crisis developed. Many of Italy's male bread earners found themselves unable to get back their old positions, and were relegated to the army of unemployed.

Mussolini met this situation with his usual directness. He whisked the lingering female workers out of the jobs formerly held by soldiers, sending them scurrying back to their hearthsides. He ordered that all veterans be reinstated by their former employers and ruled that so long as conventions still expected the men to fill the household money-box, and to fight on the battlefield when necessary, it devolved on society to see to it that the men had an opportunity to do so. Only in a few restricted fields, notably the tobacco industry, some of the textile factories, and in retail

stores, did he permit women to remain. For this reason, Italy today has an exceedingly small proportion of female workers in industry, as compared with the northern countries in Europe. Not all of the women were greatly pleased by this step, but it got the labor market right side up again in short order and cut the difficult Gordian knot of female competition in industry, a problem which is still troubling England.

As regards the social and political status of women, however, Mussolini's administration turned a much more sympathetic ear to the new call for added privileges. Mussolini personally was anything but a feminist. He has always been opposed to admitting women into the field of government. He thinks they are a distracting influence, are likely to mess things up, and introduce an element of frivolity into a serious undertaking. He personally would prefer to chase all the women employés from official offices. He thinks they take up time needlessly with frills and gestures and are far less direct than men. He admits he likes them in their place, but doesn't think a public office is that.

In an interview, given Thomas B. Morgan, Rome correspondent of the United Press in 1927,

Mussolini put this sentiment into the following words:

"At the Palazzo Chigi (the Foreign Office) I have grown accustomed to seeing an occasional woman coming into my presence, although my natural tendency is to prohibit their entrance. The Palazzo Chigi employs a number of women secretaries and stenographers. I have given imperative orders at the Palazzo Viminale, the Ministry of the Interior, where I work in the morning, that no woman shall be admitted. I have told my subordinates that I must never see a woman in the palace. They interfere with efficient procedure. They cause delay and do not appreciate the business-like character of work, introducing by their presence an obligatory deference not necessary in the company of men."

Anything but the effusion of a Feminist!

In the matter of enlarging women's political rights, the one step taken by the Fascist administration—hailed as a great triumph by the Feminists at the time—proved to be a trifle ironical in its immediate consequences. Early in 1926, the Quirinal finally decided to grant women the right to vote in municipal elections, on certain conditions. Foremost among the conditions was an

educational qualification, which immediately disbarred the majority of women in central and southern Italy. Another group to receive the franchise was to be made up of widows of soldiers killed in the War, or widowed mothers of War victims. Shortly after the promulgation of the law, a prominent Feminist leader told me that the new statutes would affect not more than 5% of the women of Italy. Nevertheless, the move caused great rejoicing in the ranks of the women's rights advocates, as it was the first breach in the wall. Then a few months later, the Fascisti abolished all the elections.

In the Fascist Party organization an opening has been made for a limited number of feminine Fascisti. It is said Mussolini allowed himself to be talked into this. A woman's Legion has been formed.

In the move for improvement in the social status of women, however, both Mussolini and his régime have shown marked interest. The government has let it be known that it is wholeheartedly in sympathy with all measures tending to lift the intellectual level of women throughout the country, and is lending its support to a campaign to give the housewives of Italy more enlightened

ideas in regard to household sanitation, care of their infants, etc. In this effort, the Feminist organization as a body is taking an active part.

Continually, the government is slipping more and more into the habit of extending to women a degree of official recognition in the life of the nation they have never received in the past. Mussolini went out of his way to show courtesy to Italy's beloved Queen Mother, Margherita, before her death in January, 1926. When she died, he ordered her body placed in the Pantheon, alongside that of her husband, Victor Emmanuel, the Father of Italy, where it lies today. Queen Margherita was the first woman ever interred in this holiest of Italy's historic halls of fame, the one really great royal sepulchre. I question whether any preceding administration would have done this. And I doubt whether the Fascisti would have, had there not been a material change in the official attitude on the question of woman's place in the nation since the War. It has even been intimated in official circles in Rome that several chairs in the Italian Academy, Italy's new collegium of fame for the living, are to be occupied by women. Rumor has already gathered about the names of two prominent authoresses.

In the words of Signora Andreina Mancuso, one of Italy's most conspicuous Feminist leaders, and associate editor of the *Vita Feminale*, the national Feminist magazine:

"In a number of ways, there is a new atmosphere in official Rome. Our gains have not been great, measured alongside the victories of the suffragettes of England and America, but we have met enough response to be greatly encouraged. There is a noticeable inclination today to invite women to step definitely in front of the curtain, along with the men, and openly share in the applause and responsibility. We believe there has been a distinct advance in the state of mind of officialdom in general on the issue of women's rights. We now maintain a regular lobbying organization at Rome."

Signora Mancuso said, however, that the Italian Feminists intend to conduct their campaigns according to their own national notions, and that they had no intention of copying some of the policies and methods of Feminists in other lands. National internal conditions and national temperament are different, she pointed out, and the Italian Feminist movement prefers to cut its own path. Although the Italian woman's rights movement is today at a

point where the American and British Feminists were several decades ago, Signora Mancuso does not think that it follows that the Latin movement will pass through all of the cycles of development experienced by the cause in other lands.

"There will be no hatchet period in the Italian woman suffrage movement," she declared. "Italian Feminists do not want a sex war. We are not going to try to rule the men, as some of the English suffragettes seem to wish to do. We believe that men and women have distinct spheres in life and different functions in society. We do not want to usurp the prerogatives of the men. We shall never storm the masculine fortress, nor do we hope to capture it by the siege methods used by our American sisters in Washington.

"We aim, rather, to make woman better fitted to fill her natural rôle in the nation, and to equip her better for the battle of life when she is forced to make it alone. One of our important aims is to improve woman's legal position in Italy and to obtain laws that will give her civil equality as a human being.

"Our most absorbing occupation at the moment is a national campaign of education among the women, which, we hope, will teach them to per-

form their domestic and social duties more efficiently. There is an appalling ignorance of the simplest rules of hygiene and sanitation in innumerable homes in Italy. Millions of families grow up midst conditions of filth that a little enlightenment could remedy. Many children in lower class homes are virtually neglected after they have been weaned, and left to develop their lives as chance or their own immature ideas may dictate. Ignorance on the part of millions of mothers has weakened the nation's vitality and caused needless and often sad injury to the health of many children.

"We are also actively working to secure enactment of laws that will elevate woman's legal position. We hope to obtain new statutes that will protect woman's interests effectively and give her her rightful standing in the courts. A great deal has been done in this respect since 1917, but a great deal more remains to be done in the way of removing minor but sometimes embarrassing inequalities in the codes.

"We wish to do all we can to safeguard the welfare of and to remove the handicaps from the lives of that small but seemingly permanent class of women in Italy who are obliged to earn their own

living. We are striving to break down social prejudice against the woman who must fight her own battle. We recognize that the best place for a woman is in the home, but as society is constituted at present, some must be outside it. There is a definite bloc of female workers in the tobacco and clothing industries. All indications are that they are there to stay. There are a number of women school teachers, and a few prominent women doctors. Social prejudice is such that the women doctors usually have to depend for their clientele on calls from members of their own sex. The best-known woman physician in Italy practices in Pisa. She is a specialist in maternity cases. Rome has one distinguished woman doctor, who at the same time teaches in a university. Two women writers, Grazie Deledda and Ada Negri, are among our most successful novelists today. Both, it happens, are Feminists and themselves products of the new social era just beginning in Italy. Both are self-made. Ada Negri was a true daughter of the people. Her mother worked in a clothing factory in Lombardy; her father died when she was young. Her youth was darkened by the fierce struggle for existence, made under the handicap which social and economic conditions

placed upon any woman who was obliged to make her own way in the world. Ada Negri began writing soon after she obtained her first position as a school mistress. She married a rich land-owner but the marriage was unhappy. She took up fiction writing and was unusually successful. She is also a poetess. There is a small group of women who have had the boldness to brave social prejudices and gain a university education. These are not so numerous as they might be. The total number of women students in all of Italy's universities today would not greatly exceed 1,200. But we believe higher education for women is coming in Italy.

"Then there is another still smaller group—like myself, for instance—who naturally feel the urge to forge their own lives for themselves. We who feel this way believe we have a right to do so, if we elect, and that we are entitled to a place under the sun."

XII

ITALY'S LITERARY ECLIPSE

MODERN revolutions seem to have a benumbing influence, temporarily, on the literature and arts of the countries in which they take place. For nearly a decade after Lenin's troops captured "holy" Moscow, the Russia of Tolstoy, Turgeneff, and Dostoevsky lay stunned, her once rich intellectual life a mere shadow of itself. Only very recently has this coma shown any signs of lifting. During 1925, faint symptoms of literary activity once more manifested themselves in Moscow and Petrograd; but generally speaking, the Slav giant has not recovered yet from the mental exhaustion of the ordeal.

The circumstances of the Fascist revolution were not so severe or protracted as were the conditions surrounding the great Red revolt, of course, but in many ways the general reaction among the country's artistic folk was similar. The hardships of life suffered by the Italian population even when the Black Shirts and the Communists were fighting for power, cannot be compared with the

tragic fate inflicted on the Russian masses during the first cycle of Communism. In Italy, the masses suffered few added privations, as did the Russian people, as a result of the political tug-of-war. Conditions were difficult enough at the beginning and the political tussle didn't make them much worse. But the Revolution did disturb, temporarily, the mental equilibrium of the educated classes. It distracted their thoughts from literary endeavor. It brought a recess in the already slowing artistic progress of the nation.

This lull persists today. There are signs of a rising interest in things intellectual, especially among the youth, and this interest can serve as the foundation for future works. Part of it may be traced to recent efforts of Mussolini. But as yet this interest has not reached the proportions of creative impulse.

Try as he will, Mussolini has not succeeded in bringing about the revival in the Italian literary and artistic world which he has accomplished in so many other fields of national activity. He has urged Italian *littérateurs* to "get busy for the glory of Italy." But instead of producing great works of art and letters, literary Italy has fallen deeper into eclipse. In this sphere, the Dictator's special

measures have thus far been negative in results.

Part of this failure can probably be traced to the strict censorship of all written matter, both in the publishing and newspaper worlds—a feature of Fascism that recalls Soviet Russia. No book or newspaper article, the political precepts of which run counter to the policies of the government, is allowed to appear. If such a book manages to slip through the automatic censorship which most publishers have imposed upon themselves (as a protection against the unpleasantness of official suppression of an edition) the book is promptly confiscated.

In Florence, I asked Signor Alessandro Vallecchi, head of the firm of Vallecchi, how he felt about the censorship. The house of Vallecchi is one of post-War Italy's most enterprising and constructive publishing houses. Vallecchi is the publisher who discovered Papini.

"The heads of nearly all the large publishing houses in Italy are themselves Fascisti," Signor Vallecchi remarked. "They would not wish to print anything that might embarrass the administration. We publishers appreciate the importance to Italy of Mussolini's campaign to reawaken the latent ability of the nation, and we do not want to

be the cause of injecting a discordant voice into the field, a voice that might decrease the effect of the government's efforts with the people."

Several other publishers in Rome expressed themselves in a similar tone.

While this policy undoubtedly has assisted the government in getting its message across to the masses—a message the people needed to have—it has also eliminated an appreciable amount of printed matter of intrinsic literary and perhaps philosophical value. It has thrown a damper on the ardor of many a young writer whose politics did not happen to square with Mussolini's, and it has materially limited the scope of publishing.

The popular press is, of course, 100% pro-government, as in Russia. In Russia, most of the dailies are both owned and operated by the government. In Italy, the periodicals are in private hands, but hands that could pass a very clean Fascist inspection. There is a slight difference in technique; that is all.

One noteworthy result of the censorship has been to drive a prominent section of the Italian literary world outside the boundaries of the country. Most of these literary fugitives have settled in France. A few have come to America. The Italian exile

colony cannot equal the Russian, either in quantity or quality, but it nevertheless includes many of the eminent liberal political writers of the last two decades. A few, like Guglielmo Ferrarro in Florence, are guarding a discreet silence on political matters because they wish to remain in their own country.

In delving into the publishing situation in Italy, one discovers several seeming contradictions. One is that although the quality level of literary output has dropped and the quantity of good books has shrunk during the last five years, there has been a decided increase in the total number of books published. Since 1922, more books have been brought out than ever before on record. Any Italian publisher will tell you this. Accounts from a number of sources agree that the total increase in volume of business during the last half decade has been about 25%. (The less scrupulous publishers will cite this as an illustration of Italy's "literary revival.") This figure does not include government pamphlets, which made up a large portion of the new literature that has been showered upon Soviet Russia since 1917, but only bonafide commercial publications.

A part of this increase has come from an in-

creased demand for the standard scientific works—a demand that can be traced in part to Mussolini's campaign to open the eyes of the people to the possibilities of intelligent effort. But in respect to the total, this class of books is not large.

Fully two-thirds of the books that now clutter Italy's book stands, are trash of the thinnest and most rancid sort. Every literary period has its typical products. In the United States, Harold Bell Wright and Gene Stratton Porter represented the height of the sentimental vogue. Then came the psycho-analysis craze, etc. Each period produced its type of fiction, and during it, the books that conformed most closely to this type led in circulation.

The dominant type of Italian current fiction of the last decade—especially since 1922—has been the pornographic novel. The bulk of the increased book sales consisted of books dealing with illicit love. That is the dominant tone of the day, so to speak, in the popular book market. There is much of this sort of literature in France, but many of the French books are quite well done. To cite a parallel: the statuettes in the celebrated Pompeian secret gallery in the Naples museum are as wholeheartedly obscene as anything could be, but nearly

every object in the collection is a piece of art. Of very, very few of the popular modern Italian novels could this be said.

One of the leading best sellers of the last decade rejoiced in the name of "Those Who Ought Not to Love." It was the story of an illicit love affair between a brother and sister. This book had a circulation of 40,000 copies—nearly equal to that of Papini's "Life of Christ" in Italy—a figure unusually high for the Italian book market. A book is regarded as a commercial success in Italy if it touches the 10,000 mark. Scores of similar novels, paper bound, selling at from 8 to 12 lire (30 to 50 cents) abound in the Italian book shops.

A few houses have stood out against this tendency. The firm of Vallecchi ranks among the foremost of this group. But even these publishers find a discouraging poverty in the intellectual raw products from which they must make their selection. Papini's works have had a wide appeal, both in this country and Italy; but in the opinion of the writer, his books, including the "Life of Christ," are lacking in originality. I labored through a dozen of the best books brought out by Vallecchi since the Fascist revolution. There was nothing bad in any of them. Nor did I find much of out-

standing merit. One, with the attractive title, "Seven Saints Without Candles," was amusing and possessed a certain quaint philosophy of life. Another was an autobiography, written by a soldier, dealing with the World War. The incidents were more or less routine; the book would not have been noticed in France. Papini and P. Pancrazi collaborated to produce another volume, that was more interesting: "Poets of Today," a symposium of the best of verse produced in Italy during the period 1900-25. Many of the selections are prose poems, but pleasing and usually well written.

The two women writers, Grazie Deledda and Ada Negri, head the list of respectable new novelists of the last decade. Grazie Deledda is the Italian Gene Stratton Porter. Some of her novels are a trifle more racy than those of her American contemporary, but they cannot be classed with the sort mentioned before. Most deal with simple country life on the author's native island of Sardinia. Ada Negri is more poet than novelist. She is beloved by the younger intellectuals chiefly for her verse. Her best known novel, "From a High Window," presents her reflections on life as she saw it pass under the "high window" of her home.

Luigi Pirandello, whose "Six Characters in

Search of an Author" had a run on Broadway a few years ago, is one of the few modern Italian playwrights with ideas. Pirandello is something of a rage at the moment among the "intellectuals." Many of his plays, incidentally, would have little chance of getting past an American censor. One I saw in Florence was pleasantly constructed and amusing. Its plot turned around a conspiracy between a professor and his mistress, the wife of a sea captain, to make the captain believe himself the father of the couple's illegitimate child.

Domenico Bulgarini, of Florence, wrote a pleasing satirical sketch, called "Pasquino," which had a run for a couple of years in numerous Italian theaters. The play is a burlesque on a number of popular foibles, and is entertaining.

But generally speaking, the Italian stage, as well as the world of literature, is barren at the moment.

Gabriele d'Annunzio, one of the most spectacular figures that ever crossed a nation's literary horizon, is looked upon as *passé* in Italy now. His works have fallen from vogue, and he lives only as a figure of the past, in his picturesque northern retreat.

There is a small group of "futurist" writers, headed by Marinetti, but their contributions have not been outstanding.

"Italy has no school of literature today," a young Roman writer remarked to me once, as we drank our tea on the upper veranda of the beautiful Pincio Villa, overlooking Rome. "She is producing nothing original. There is no group with sufficient individuality to warrant being called a movement. The successful writers of today are giving us cheap imitations of French modes. Italy is passing through a literary night."

To Mussolini's credit, be it said that he is making an attempt to hasten the end of this "night." I have already referred to the Black Shirts' efforts to arouse interest in scientific and intellectual life. Throughout the country, members of the party are being urged to read and to induce others to read.

Another constructive and important move to supply a persistent impetus for higher creative effort was the recent foundation of the Italian Academy, modeled after the famous French Academy in Paris. This body, Mussolini hopes, will serve as the fountain of Italy's creative genius. It is a permanent organization, to mobilize the best scientific and literary minds of the nation and to act as a dynamic center of Italian culture.

The Academy is more than a mere collegium of fame. Membership in it is expected to constitute

official recognition of the intellectual eminence of the appointé—or appointée—for the Academy is open to women as well as men. But in addition to honor, an appointment carries the obligation of practical and continuous service on the part of the nominee. It includes an annual salary. Appointments are made for life. In return, members are expected to perform constructive services in their respective fields, for the nation. An inventor will carry on with his inventions, an artist will paint, and an author produce masterpieces, untroubled by the bother of worldly things such as fees, royalties, or bread tickets.

The Academy will have a permanent site in Rome, where it will meet periodically. At each session, the body will discuss matters of general cultural interest and hear reports from its members who have been carrying on research in the interludes.

By this means, Mussolini purported to create a permanent organism through which Italy's best minds could produce for the country, unhampered by the practical restrictions of ordinary daily life. The move was also another step in what Mussolini terms the departmentalization of Italy's national life.

"There is a type of mind, adapted to creative effort in science and letters, that is not fitted for productive use in some other fields," Mussolini said in announcing the creation of the Academy. "There is another type primarily adapted for administration and government. The two faculties are not necessarily found in the same individual. The error of Italian policy in the past has been that we have chosen to honor our poets and inventors by making them senators. Often they were wonderful inventors but wretched senators. As a result, much of our governmental machinery has been manned by men who were experts in doing something else than they were now asked to do.

"My plan is to use the common sense in government that a business executive uses in assigning tasks to his subordinates. I propose to free our legislative chambers from the incumbrance of men who do not belong there, and to put these men to work for the nation in the sphere where they can avail. In this way, the nation can continue to profit from the zeal and ability of its scientists and poets and our government can be run much more practicably."

XIII

THE SPIRIT OF THE FIESTA

*"On these lower planes of day,
There is nothing that will stay."*

I SUSPECT that lines similar to these have been recurring to more than one of my readers who knew and loved the Italy of the old days. Despite her aimlessness, her lassitude, Italy had a charm that cast a peculiar spell over all who came inside her boundaries. The word despite may be ill-chosen. I am not sure that part of it did not come from this trait. Italy was a poem of the happy-go-lucky, a minstrel's song. An editor of one of our American magazines remarked to me recently, "I am afraid Mussolini is going to spoil Italy. He will take away the traits that made her so charming to us. I admit many of these things did not help the Italians, economically speaking. But we who loved this Lotus element in the atmosphere may regret the change."

- Italy has always been a land of the romantic, a land of the fiesta, of colorful festivals, ancient religious ceremonies, and jubilant carnivals. It has

been a land of music, of easy, careless loitering, where the soul of the loiterer poured itself out in the melody of some beautiful aria. It has been a country where young men still took time to serenade and where the grace of beautiful gesture was not a lost art.

Festivals are pleasing to the eye and carnivals make the blood run quicker. But practically viewed, these things do take time. They consume energy that practical folk know could be more productively employed in work. And work, work, is the keynote of the Fascist movement. It is not surprising that many who have known this side of Italy should have qualms about possible danger to the charms of their old love. The ruffles of the maid of our colonial days would interfere with the efficiency of the modern business girl. Is Italy in danger of losing her ruffles? Is Fascism going to replace her romanticism with the efficiency spirit that has done so much to make America the business success she is and at the same time to dull our artistic imagination?

That the future holds a measure of ground for this fear cannot be denied. Mussolini has already begun urging his people to waste less time in unnecessary processions and demonstrations. The

Fascisti take pains to arrange good public shows when the occasion demands, but even they have strikingly reduced their repertory. That Fascism is likely to bring a more austere spirit into the nation is probable. But Mussolini is not trying entirely to crush the play spirit from the people. I doubt if he could even if he desired. His aim is, rather, to induce the nation to departmentalize its energy, to work hard when it is time to work, and play hard when it is time to play. In this sense, some of the ruffles are being laid aside part of the time. But the ruffles are not being scorned. They are still brought forth from time to time when occasion offers, and enjoyed possibly a shade more on account of the restraint.

Tourists who come to Italy today will miss a few of the innumerable demonstrations they loved to watch fifteen years ago. Many of the people who were demonstrating most of the time then are working now. But lovers of the picturesque still can find plenty of the colorful and quaint, and are likely to, for years to come. Italy's ancient religious ceremonies are too deeply rooted in the hearts of the people. The carnival is a real expression of part of the nation's soul. Italy is working harder and loitering less. But she is sing-

ing still. And the government itself has no squeams about processions when they can enhance the prestige of the administration. Italy is not forgetting her skill in pageantry, and the moon is still sublime in Venice.

Important dates on the church calendar are emphasized with colorful ceremonials, many of which are staged in the exact form, to the minutest detail, that was in vogue a thousand years ago. The policy of the government has been to make the fewer existing festivals bigger than ever, and to boast of its part in the matter. Curbed on the more trivial occasions, Italy's carnival spirit breaks out in full vigor on important national holidays. The latter constitute sort of a safety-valve for the nation's temperament. Because this phase of life is so important in Italy, it is worth knowing more intimately, if one is to understand Italians.

The carnival may be seen in its full glory in the early spring. Every year when the pre-Lenten carnival season arrives, cities throughout Italy resound with the fanfare of thousands of paper trumpets, and the voices of throngs of masqueraders. Beginning Sunday afternoon, the din continues for three days, to reach its climax the night of "fat Tuesday" (the "mardi gras" of Parisian

and New Orleans fame). During this interval all petty commerce puts itself at the disposal of the carnivalists. At night, the streets are filled with happy crowds, some in costume, some in mufti. Autos carrying piros in black and white regalia, Italian cavaliers, with beplumed hats, velvet trousers, and black capes, push their way through the groups of pedestrians, their horns shrilling an accompaniment to the passengers' trumpets. Each day, as night approaches, the sidewalks become coated with layers of confetti. In Florence, I have seen street cars stop mid-block, while groups of revellers finished a confetti battle in the center of the tracks. For several years, masks were forbidden by the Fascisti, on the ground that they might be used as screens for acts of violence. In 1926, however, this edict was revoked, and now all revellers who wish to be, are masked.

After Lent, as spring sweeps upon the country, the streets of all Italy's cities fill with song. I recall how charming this feature was in Florence, in the spring of 1926. One could while away one's evenings leaning out of the window, catching whiffs of music in the evening air: the tinkle of a mandolin, or the soft throaty voice of some guitar. Now and then a group of four or five would pass

down the Via Romana, arm in arm, singing an opera or a folk song. Often one of the troupe carried a mandolin, and accompanied as he walked. Sometimes the cavalcade would break ranks, and the young men join hand in twos to piro around in the middle of the street. They were no more conspicuous in that environment than a group of friends, stopping to shake hands, would be on Fifth Avenue in New York. The fruit peddler hummed as he stood by his cart. A strain of opera came in through my window along with the sunshine one morning, and I looked out to see the garbage collector, singing as he dumped the refuse into his wagon.

All the important religious festivals that have made Italy such an attraction for tourists may be seen today, bigger and better than ever, to borrow the movie phrase.

Siena's semi-popular, semi-religious carnival, the first week in July, with its historic horse-race run in honor of the Madonna—certainly one of the few horse races in the world held in honor of the Holy Virgin—still takes place, as it has for a thousand years, every summer. During the three days of carnival, preceding the race and the religious rites, the streets of this ancient city—the architecture of

which is almost as pure as when originally built—pulse with a boisterous life that is a strange mixture of the modern and the old. Peasants, radiating the atmosphere of the past, brush elbows with American tourists wearing bone-rimmed glasses and latest Broadway bobs. Ox-carts and donkeys alternate with high-powered Rolls-Royces down narrow streets that wind between stone building fronts that have stood for centuries. One passes from the sprightly rhythm of a brass band in a piazza into a building to hear jazz that comes over the radio from some dance orchestra in Paris.

The horse race that crowns the program is both colorful and grotesque. The horses could win the world's championship, if the prize were for the worst steeds. The idea seems to be to find the most pitiable specimens of horse flesh obtainable. The morning of the great race, each of the "fiery" mounts is led into a church and blessed by a priest. The procession which precedes the race has few equals today. Some of the costumes worn by the paraders are the identical garments worn by their ancestors who took part in the ceremonies hundreds of years ago. The robes are gorgeous affairs, and were made to last as well as to impress. As the occasion for their use came but once a year, and

for a few hours only each time, there was little wear on the materials.

The race itself takes place on an impromptu sand track around the central piazza, while thousands in the grandstand cheer hysterically. The only things on the track that seem modern are the jockey costumes of the riders. The proceeds go to the church.

Another festival still prominent, and one that has survived six centuries, is the Explosion of the Sacred Cart, in Florence, on Easter Saturday, which every year draws thousands of American tourists from other parts of Italy and from the fashionable winter resorts of the Continent.

Rome may be supreme at Christmas when the Pope personally conducts mass in St. Peter's; Venice always lures in the summer, but Easter time is Florence time when the delightful old medieval city calls to visitors with promise of things only Florence can offer. Then Florence's many hotels and pensions, usually only half-filled, are crowded to overflowing.

On the broad square in front of the Duomo, Florence's cathedral, and on the spot where Dante's young friend used to commune with the buried dead, in the hope of winning from them the

secret of the future, there takes place a ceremony which has no duplicate in any other place in Europe. It has been taking place here since 1303, A.D.—the same strange mixture of the romance of medieval Christianity and pagan beauty. In only one or two details has the performance been altered, changes introduced to conform with twentieth century mechanical improvements. At high noon, the Saturday before Easter, while thousands stand on the Square and the Cathedral bells ring, a flaming dove, carrying fire struck from a flint brought from the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, shoots over the heads of the crowd inside the Cathedral, out through the broad doors and alights on the sacred cart which is waiting in the middle of the Square. On the top of the cart is a fuse. In a flash, fireworks concealed in every crevice of the wagon's frame, begin to sputter and shoot, until it seems as if the whole cart were exploding. A wire, reaching from the altar inside the church and passing over the heads of the congregation to the cart, guides the bird in its course. In the olden days, live pigeons were used, a cord being looped around the body of the bird and ringed over the wire to keep the fowl to its path, as it flew, terrified, its tail blazing. Now modern mechanics have

made the ceremony more humane and an artificial pigeon, in the tail of which a sky-rocket is lodged, shoots down the wire.

In olden times, popular superstition attached great importance to the manner in which the bird made its flight. The prospect of rich or poor harvests depended on it. If anything interfered with the bird's progress, the peasants took it as an omen that that year's crops would fail. If, on the other hand, it succeeded in reaching the cart safely, the success of the harvest was assured. Many peasants still believe in the old superstition, although modern mechanical devices have removed most of the uncertainty from the rite. Nevertheless, once in a while, something does go wrong. In 1925, a kink on the wire prevented the bird from getting outside the Cathedral. A groan immediately went up from hundreds of throats that could be heard a block away. Fortunately, the crops did not fail. The existence of this uncertainty is sufficient to maintain the suspense of many peasant onlookers and every spring more than one simple countryman awaits the completion of the rite with anxiety.

The cart itself is a four-storied, red vehicle, drawn by four snow-white oxen. The oxen are picked beasts. Their horns and hoofs tinted gold,

they walk along majestically, under beautiful crimson covers. They are unhitched when the cart arrives at its place. The custodianship of the cart and the duty of furnishing the oxen has been the privilege of one Florentine family, the Pazzi's, for several hundred years. Every year it is the duty of the members of this family to guide the picturesque conveyance through the streets of Florence to the Duomo. Formerly, the cart used to take up a position in front of the Pazzi's ancestral house, on the Square, opposite the Baptistry. But the crowds grew so dense that the stand was shifted to a more central point in front of the broad steps leading into the Duomo. In its present form, the Florentine rite dates from the time of the Crusades. A Florentine taking part in one of these expeditions, happened to be the first to place the Christian standard on the walls of Jerusalem. As a reward for his valor, he was permitted to take a piece of flint from the Holy Sepulchre. Only two pieces of this flint were brought to Italy. The other one was taken to Rome.

Another Easter ceremony of quaint picturesqueness, is the Gesu Morto procession, at Grassano, a suburb of Florence, on Good Friday. The inhabitants of this little settlement have the practical,

everyday rôle of keeping Florence clean. All of Florence's laundries are located here and Grassina has come to be known as Florence's washerwoman. A unique feature of this rite is that after the procession of the Holy Cross—which takes place on the hills at night, under the flare of torchlights and candles—the farm animals, horses, oxen, and sheep, go to church with their masters. (Perhaps as a reward for their faithful services during the year!) Instead of stopping at the door of the church, as usual, the dumb beasts march on up the aisle, alongside their owners, to the altar, where they are blessed.

The festival begins with a colorful country fair in the afternoon. The tiny piazza in the village is crowded with stalls, while peasant vehicles, some of them drawn by oxen, roll in from the surrounding districts. In the evening, after sundown, a bell tolls, and a strange solemn little procession leaves a church high up among the vineyards. Its way lighted by torches, the cavalcade winds down the hillside. First come Roman soldiers on horseback, wearing imitation armor and long cloaks. Then follow the baby angels and young girls dressed in white, carrying lighted tapers. The married women march next, clad in mourning, and veiled in

black. Next come the parish priests, accompanied by various guilds of men and the village choir, chanting the Miserere. A black canopy next appears, borne by a dozen men. Under this canopy, on a bier carried shoulder high, is the figure of Gesu Morto (the dead Christ). Other companies of men, mourning matrons and singing boys make up the rear. Last of all marches the village band. An Easter moon is apt to be in the sky to shine upon the procession and upon the soft gray olive leaves which abound on every side. An atmosphere is created that carries the onlooker back into the story-book days of the past.

PART III
THE FUTURE

XIV

THE PROBABLE FUTURE OF FASCISM

PROPHECY is sometimes a hazardous venture. The future lies with Providence. Yet it is possible, with a measure of assurance, to bring together the dominant factors in a definite situation and the outstanding tendencies of the moment, and from this known set of causes, to construct a strong case of probability.

From this angle, let us approach the future of Fascist Italy. What fate can be foreseen for the Mussolini administration, during the immediate and more remote future? How long is the present régime likely to last, and how may it be expected to evolve? What influence is Fascism likely to exert on world social and political developments? What future is ahead of Italy as a member of the European family of nations?

To begin with the situation inside Italy:

We have seen that the position of the Fascist government is secure, and steadily growing more so. We have seen how Mussolini has drawn around himself the enthusiasm and good will of the

population, entrenching his régime in a record of works that has appealed to the masses. We have noted his efforts to change the habits of the nation, and to impress upon the people Fascism's conception of a united, aggressive Italy. We have observed his energy in trying to perfect the mechanics of his administrative system, have watched the parts of this system going together and reviewed the results in terms of material progress. We have noted the disappearance of opposition to the Fascist program in Italy.

What does this mean for the future? It means, for one thing, that the Fascist régime is now in a position where Time is working on its side. Fascism is gathering momentum. Each year that the administration remains in power, adds to its chances of remaining in power. Fascism is taking hold of the people. Each additional month Mussolini continues the process of inoculating the nation with the virus of the Fascist idea, lengthens the potential life of the régime by easily twice that length of time.

Fascism, as we have seen, is an idea. That is its strength. It is bigger than a single individual, despite the fact that it is largely the creation of one man.

Physics teaches that energy travels in a straight line. If the initial impetus is great enough, a body will pursue a set course, until its force has been consumed by friction. History teaches that human nature is not unlike other forms of energy in many of its manifestations. Once thoroughly converted to an idea, a nation tends to follow in its course. New habits may be hard to form, both for an individual and a nation, but once acquired, they gather momentum. Time is a potent donor of this, by virtue of its habit-forming propensity.

Mussolini is concentrating his whole force today on creating a momentum for his system that will carry it on even though the force of his own individuality were removed. Mussolini is fully aware of the possible danger in which he stands as an individual. No one could be blind to it after the several attempted assassinations, careful as the government is now to protect its head. Man is mortal, and no ruler is entirely safe from attack these days. With the zeal of a religious apostle, Mussolini is dedicating his whole existence to the task of "getting his idea across" to the nation while he still lives. How completely he succeeds, depends on how much longer he has to work.

This is one reason, in my opinion, why he has

run the government as such a one man affair. Mussolini has felt that every department of the enterprise was too important, things being as they are, to leave to an inefficient inferior. He was so filled with the urgency of getting all parts to function properly that he could not delegate the task to another. He was in the position of a skilled business executive, who personally takes over the management of his entire business during a crisis, to see to it that every department operates adequately and to supervise personally the training of the new departmental heads. From what I know of Mussolini, this represents the way his mind works on the subject. Some may call this conceit. But conceit or no, the facts justified the attitude, and the course has produced results. Not many men would have had either the courage or capacity to undertake a responsibility of this magnitude.

As matters now stand, the odds of success are in Mussolini's favor. As pointed out before, he now has a clear field. He has established his new economic state; the political machinery of government is in full operation. He is drilling a staff of departmental heads in the management of their individual territories, with the hope of cultivating in them a sense of responsibility. He increases

their authority as they demonstrate their capacity. He is utilizing a principle that has proved itself in the American business world: pick your men carefully, train them carefully, give them a chance to prove themselves, and hold each severely responsible for the results. The bureaucratic machine is already developed to a point where Mussolini's eye is now required only for the big things, and for matters of constructive statesmanship. Departmental heads take care of the routine.

The question of a successor for Mussolini is a more difficult problem. Whom Mussolini has picked it is not possible to say. He has not cared to discuss this. For some time, however, rumor in the Fascist Party has gathered around the name of Federzoni, former Liberal leader, who joined the Fascist Party in its earlier days, bringing with him a large number of his followers. Federzoni is one of the key men in the party today. I personally question whether he is Volpi's equal in ability; but Volpi is not of the temperament that would fire the masses. At any rate, many Fascisti think the Liberal chief is in training as Il Duce's understudy, and might step into Mussolini's place if anything happened.

Under the normal course of events, Mussolini

should last a number of years. His stomach troubles him, but an ulcer of the stomach does not usually take a man away in a moment. Otherwise, his health is good. He guards it jealously. He eats sparingly: lives on fare which the average man would consider a most frugal diet. He has ample physical vigor and a great deal of endurance. His vitality is high. All he needs is time.

He already has made an impression that is likely to leave its traces for years, as things are now. Given five, certainly ten years, he will make an imprint on the nation that will be lasting.

That there will eventually be an evolution in the political methods of the Black Shirts and in the political operation of the state is inevitable. This phase of the program must evolve, if the régime is to remain indefinitely. The all-embracing disciplinary methods of today, which are suited to the present state of development of the population, will not be practical a few decades hence when the nation has become more developed.

The value of Fascism to Italy rests upon the circumstance that the movement appeared on the scene just at the historical moment it was needed, to fill a definite cycle in the nation's development. It came with methods adapted to producing results

at this moment, and with a program that included objectives which needed to be attained during this period of the nation's growth. The merits of the Mussolini régime spring from this unusual combination of coincidences.

To judge from Italy's experience, it is beginning to look as if enlightened governmental paternalism, backed by energy, provides a form of state best suited to the needs of a people who are imperfectly developed. But I do not think a dictatorship, however enlightened, is practicable in a country that is reaching maturity.

Despite a few surface signs to the contrary in some parts of the world, the masses in all civilized lands today are beginning to awaken to their political power. In the great democracies, they are showing more and more initiative. Public opinion is still swayed from above, but the people who do the swaying no longer come from any single social group. Notwithstanding its faults, the democratic theory is, in my judgment, the best working hypothesis for a nation able to utilize it, that has thus far been brought forward. Theoretical democracy is impossible, of course. Life is not made that way. The fact of organization implies a chief or director. But I believe that a re-

publican, or quasi-republican state contains the most safeguards against chronic injustices and continued misuse of political authority. Its periodic elections provide a safety-valve for pent up popular feelings, and its more elastic political structure permits a wholesome shifting of power and the recruiting of leaders from all classes.

For this reason, I do not think that the present political program of Fascism will have the widespread influence on other nations which some of its enthusiastic protagonists occasionally have predicted. Mussolini's methods are not adapted to a country that is developed socially. A Fascist revolution could conceivably occur in France. When I was last in Paris there was a certain amount of talk about such a possibility. But I question seriously whether any régime using the methods Mussolini employs could long survive in France. It would not jibe with French temperament. Germany does not need the social features of the Fascist program. England would not tolerate a dictatorship. The people of the United States would rise in righteous wrath were any one to attempt to father them as Mussolini does the Italian people. Moreover, the United States does not need Mussolini's efficiency drive.

Enlightened dictatorships, on the Fascist plan, may, I think, influence the course of events in some of the more backward nations—the countries of southeastern Europe, for instance. Spain could profit from a dose of Fascism, provided she could produce a Mussolini. It is conceivable that the Fascist idea may figure in the future development of the Orient, and of the great masses of backward humanity there.

Fascism is designed to speed up the development of a people at a certain period of their evolution. It is possible that on this account the general advance of humanity may be accelerated somewhat because Mussolini lived.

But to return to Italy:

The day will come when the Fascist order will have to change its political technique or leave Rome. That day is probably some years in the future. How early it will come depends (paradoxically) on how rapidly Fascism succeeds in its endeavors to raise the general level of the people. In this sense, the movement is writing its own fate. When that day arrives will Fascism have the vision to adapt itself to the new situation?

This much can be said: such an adjustment would not be incompatible with much that is in

the movement today. Were Fascism a mere dictatorship, or a rule of a single social class, such a step might not be taken—despite the fact that it would then be a move of sheer political sagacity, to avert self-destruction. But Fascism is not a class rule. As we have seen, its ranks are recruited from all classes. A considerable number in places of authority, including Mussolini, spring from the so-called humble social categories. And Fascism has thus far been characterized by a leadership with vision and idealism.

The Fascist Party also includes a large section of the old Italian Liberal parties. It contains men with social ideas well in advance of any of the so-called advanced political groups in the United States. Fascism has a goodly amount of the leaven of liberalism, even radicalism, in its own body politic. It contains not a few former Socialists, again including Mussolini.

In some of his declarations in 1926, at the time general elections were temporarily abolished, Mussolini overtly attacked the general principle of democracy. But most of these statements were called forth by the practical political necessities of the moment. He has usually contented himself with advancing the reason that the Italian nation

could not run the risk involved in a "change of mounts" while in the heat of a race, the race being Italy's economic crisis. This reasoning was valid, circumstances and the Italian temperament being as they were. In the enthusiasm of the moment, Mussolini several times allowed himself to be carried on into a frontal attack on democracy in general. What his secret convictions are on this subject is for him to say: but his more consistent line of argument has been simply that so-called popular government was not adapted to Italy's needs at this stage of her development. And the fact remains that in 1927, Mussolini did consent to announcement of the government's intention soon to restore parliamentary elections, with the franchise founded upon the new basis described in Chapter V.

That there is a negative side of Fascism, however, must be admitted. Fascism is intolerant. We have seen the factors that have helped to cultivate this spirit. These factors will not remain indefinitely. But intolerance is a fire that is dangerous to play with. The great emphasis the movement places on energy, also, could conceivably grow into the Frankenstein of pure might. This will not happen if Fascism keeps its sense of pro-

portions. But it is a danger that must be reckoned with.

If Fascism does not keep pace with the social changes it will bring about, it will be discarded by the nation when its period of usefulness is passed. But even in this event the constructive results of the régime need not be lost.

The economic phase of Mussolini's régime is another thing and should be considered apart from the social program. The two are closely interwoven, but fundamentally not inseparable. The Fascisti did not originate the idea of compulsory arbitration of labor disputes, although they have developed the scheme more elaborately than had been done elsewhere. Neither is the organizing of the nation in producers' guilds original. Both could exist apart from Fascism.

This phase of the Fascist program is more universal in its nature and may have a noteworthy influence on world economic history. It will, if it works. It is an attempt to get at the core of a situation that is as broad as humanity, and to solve a problem existing in every modern land.

I say if, because the corporations project is still in its early stages. There remain sections of the country's economic field which are not yet included

in the system. In the fields where the plan has been applied, it has worked. But the period of trial is too short to justify final judgment.

In the end, the scheme must prove itself on its own merits. It must continue to adjust labor disputes and keep peace in the world of industry, irrespective of political pressure from Rome. Even Fascisti admit this. Economic problems are solved permanently, when solved, by economic measures. A political tonic at best is a makeshift. The Bolsheviki discovered this in Russia. The American farmers have the lesson to learn. Only practical experience and time can demonstrate the economic and social soundness of the Fascist Economic State.

There remains to consider Italy's future among the nations, a question of interest not only to the continental neighbors of the new kingdom, but to the United States as well, so closely interwoven are the relations among all nations today.

XV

IS FASCIST ITALY A MENACE TO WORLD PEACE?

IS Mussolini a menace to world peace?

If this question were asked today in nearly any Western European capital except Rome, and a candid answer returned, the reply, in the majority of cases, would be in the affirmative.

Throughout the Continent of Europe, the general public and a notable section in official governmental circles look upon Mussolini with uneasiness. There is, in many circles, a wholesome admiration for what the Italian Dictator has been able to accomplish inside Italy, and at the same time a feeling of apprehension regarding what it is feared he may accomplish in the realm of international affairs. I found this alarm in all the capitals I visited after I left Italy—London, Paris, Berlin, and Geneva—and it has persisted stubbornly, as sort of an *idée fixe*, in spite of the more conciliatory tone of the more recent utterances on international topics that have emanated from the Chigi Palace. The anxiety has its ebb and flow. It invariably rises after a boisterous speech by the

Italian premier, a type of speech which fortunately is becoming less characteristic of Mussolini. It drops slightly during periods of tranquillity. But it continues, as an undertone, indicative of a definite feeling of suspicion.

Most of this alarm is based, I found, upon things Mussolini has said, rather than upon actions; although the Corfu incident, when the Italians seized the Greek island by force, in 1923, in retaliation for an insulting episode, was an act of a nature that did not augur too well for future peace, it is true. But with the exception of this one daring stroke, Mussolini has limited his so-called martial demonstrations to verbiage. During the first four years of his administration, there was not a little of this latter, and unfortunately the things said were such that remain easily in the memory. Numerous pronouncements were made which were not only sharply at variance with diplomatic custom, but provocative. For a time it seemed as if every little cause for friction brought a display of rostrum fireworks in Rome, a circumstance that did not contribute to the peace of mind of Italy's continental neighbors. Mussolini was indeed the *enfant terrible* of European statesmen. It is almost certain that some of the things he said would

have led to war in the days of the old dispensation. The fact that they did not bespeaks the existence of a spirit of tolerance in the diplomatic councils of the Old World, one of the encouraging aspects of the world's state of mind since the War. From this, those who think there has been no advance in Europe since 1918 can take a measure of heart. Mussolini was untutored in the technique of international relations when he took over the administration at Rome. His sense of values did not seem to have developed in this sphere, remarkable as was his insight into the predicament inside the boundaries of his own land. There is dynamite in words as well as in actions, especially when the words fall upon the ears of peoples whose national psychology is very different from that of the speaker.

To return to the question of whether there is actual basis for fear and to the aims and underlying principles of the Dictator's foreign policy today: What attitude may be expected from the Chigi Palace in its future contacts with the other foreign offices of Europe? Is Mussolini imperialistic, and if so, to what extent? Is Italy likely to be a disturbing factor to continental equilibrium?

In a sentence, I can say at the outset that judg-

ing from what I saw of the state of mind in official circles in Italy and judging from what I have observed of the general trend of Mussolini's foreign policy, I am convinced this fear has little foundation in fact so far as the immediate future is concerned.

Fascism has its hands much too full, and will have for a number of years, with its task inside Italy, to consider seriously taking the initiative in foreign conquest. Italy is not in an economic position at present to undertake a war. Such a move would be calamitous at the present stage of developments—just at the moment when the country is beginning to get upon its feet, materially speaking. Mussolini is too shrewd, in my judgment, to commit such a folly of his own volition. He is a man with more vision than the Kaiser, and is not likely to allow himself to be pushed into folly by any clique in his entourage, jingoistic or otherwise.

Nor did I, while in Italy, find ground for the suspicion that Mussolini cherishes any far-reaching dreams of territorial gain, even after his country has come into its full economic strength. It is necessary in appraising many of the Dictator's utterances, especially those of the period previous to 1926, to project his words against the back-

ground of internal conditions in Italy, and, even more important, against the background of south-European Latin temperament. This latter seems especially difficult for northern Europeans to do. Between the peoples that live south of the Alps and those who live north of them, there is a decided difference in national mentality and temperament which must always be borne in mind in evaluating both actions and words. In many ways, the Italian mind works differently from the French, English, or German mind. Many of the conclusions may be the same in the end, but the preliminary mental processes are likely to differ. And there is a vast difference in the mode of expression. The moment one descends from the Alps into Italy and becomes acquainted with Italians, one feels this difference in the mental atmosphere. The Italians are a charming folk—friendly, responsive, and sunny—but there is a “kink” in their brains that Anglo-Saxons have to learn to understand, and to make allowances for. The Italian is, of course, ten times as demonstrative as the northern European. He has less emotional balance. He flies off more easily. He may not do any more; he usually will forget quickly if convinced he has been

wrong. But he will certainly make a great deal more noise.

Due allowance for these national traits of temperament and habits of expression must be made in appraising many of the public utterances of Mussolini since he originally assumed power. For Mussolini is an Italian—a remarkable Italian, it is true—and the people who inhabit the country he is running are Italians. Mussolini, it must also be remembered, stepped upon the scene with very little training in diplomatic niceties. He was naturally a man of blunt speech. He had the courage of his convictions. He was inevitably much franker in his expressions than the diplomats of the old school who had preceded him in the Chigi Palace. Also, he was in the midst of a colossal undertaking in Italy, a task to which he was bending every bit of his energy and in the furtherance of which he was using every instrument he could lay hands upon. This last feature is extremely important in its bearing on the character of some of his utterances. His first problem was to awaken and arouse the Italian nation. He soon found that one of the most effective challenges he could make was to appeal to their pride in the deeds of their ancestors. He took full advantage of the situation.

On every possible occasion, he held high the brilliant picture of the old Roman empire. He spoke of reviving "the glory that was Rome," exhorted his fellow countrymen to live up to the mark set by their forefathers. He spoke of a second empire, with its capital on the Tiber. And the crowds cheered.

The balance of Europe, however, listening on the other side of the Alps or across the Adriatic, arched its eyebrows and recalled the geographical scope of the old Roman empire. Many people in all parts of the Continent took the Dictator literally, accepted the face value of his words and invested him with dreams of duplicating the military conquests of the ancients, a feat that would involve reconquest of a large part of England, France, Belgium, Spain, Germany, etc. They forgot to make allowance for internal conditions in Italy, for Latin temperament, or for the time-honored, and long-accepted, practice among statesmen of talking for home consumption. In many of the northern countries of Europe people began to wonder how soon Mussolini could be expected to set about the reconquest of the civilized world, how soon an attempt would be made to move Italian frontiers northward, eastward, and westward.

I saw nor heard nothing while I was in Italy that furnished any reason for thinking Mussolini ever cherished an ambition of this nature. The world has moved, both scientifically and politically, since the days of the Cæsars. The physical conquest of a continent is quite another thing today from what it was before the invention of airplanes, poison gas, and long-range guns. Formerly passive groups of humanity are no longer as passive as they used to be in their attitude toward a foreign invader. With the finest army the world has seen, the Kaiser failed at the beginning of an attempt to dominate the European Continent by force of arms. Mussolini has the practical sense to know this.

To my knowledge, he has said several times, in speeches at Rome, that a physical domination of the globe, like that achieved by the Romans, was out of the question today, adding that "Italy's one chance to dominate the world today" was in the sphere of intellectual achievement.

My own opinion is that what danger of war there exists along the Mediterranean, so far as the immediate future is concerned, is to be found in other capitals than Rome. I mean the danger that some one of the other Mediterranean powers might attach unwarranted importance to one of Mussolini's

outbursts which, fortunately, are now both less numerous and less pyrotechnical, and take action which might force him to fight.

This kind of danger fortunately is decreasing, as Mussolini "tones down" his utterances on international topics. Since the Upper Adige crisis in the spring of 1926, when the Dictator carried on a feverish long-distance debate with the German Foreign Minister in Berlin, over the treatment of German minorities in the regained Tyrolean province, Mussolini's temper in foreign affairs has been steadily moderating. With the exception of his outburst against France in the fall of 1926, when he was under the emotional stress of an attempted assassination, Mussolini has been consistently conciliatory in all his public references to other nations. He has more than once gone out of his way to express Italy's desire to work harmoniously with her neighbors in the European family of nations. A striking illustration of this new tone was afforded by the Jugo-Slav crisis in the late spring and early summer of 1928. Five years before, Mussolini took military action to effect a reprisal for an incident on the island of Corfu that was no more serious from an international point of view than some of the recent anti-Italian demonstra-

tions in Belgrade. In July, 1928, Mussolini joined the other powers of Europe and Asia in accepting Secretary Kellogg's multilateral treaty to renounce war.

Prominent Fascisti in Rome insisted to me that Mussolini's much-quoted speech of conciliation in July, 1926, was the turning point in the Dictator's attitude toward foreign nations, that it marked a swing toward a new spirit and gave the tone of Italy's future foreign policy. In this speech—the first really conciliatory address he had made—Mussolini defined Italy's general attitude toward her neighbors as one of peace and moderation.

If the Mediterranean situation, however, be viewed from the perspective of the more remote future, there are elements in Italy's position that warrant a measure of international anxiety, in my judgment. These are factors which do not spring directly from Fascism or Mussolini, but they constitute an element in the situation which cannot be ignored. Underneath the smoother surface of the countenance which Italy is now presenting to the world, they represent forces which are likely to be stubborn in their persistence and to figure prominently some day in the country's foreign policy. They originate, as do the bases of the foreign

policies of most nations, in the human and geographical features of the country's location. They are affected by Fascism only because Fascism is so dynamically nationalistic and thus more likely to push these considerations into the foreground when a more favorable time presents. And with a movement as passionately patriotic as Fascism, there is also always some danger of a premature boiling over.

I refer to the problem of over-population, a problem upon which Italy's foreign policy, both present and future, is predicated, and must be predicated, a problem that is likely to grow in seriousness until some solution is found. In number of inhabitants, the Italian peninsula is growing faster than any other European land. During the decade since the War, the population has been increased by 5,000,000 souls, or at the rate of a half million per year. This rate is continuing. In fact, the general attitude of the Italian government has been to encourage larger families, on account of their bearing on the military strength of the nation.

The theory underlying this attitude is that military power may be a very convenient thing to have some time, in case of emergency, and that in any

event, its possession will add force to Italy's standing in the international concourse of nations.

This piling up of population is creating a dilemma that can some day become international in its consequences. Human beings must have a place to live and they must have food. The Italian peninsula is not rich. In its present condition, the country does not offer adequate means of livelihood for a population that is growing at this rate of speed. Mussolini is doing all he can, as we have seen, to increase the nation's potential economic productivity. But when all is done that can be done, there is a limit to the possibilities of the peninsula's physical exploitation. There seems to be no limit to the rate at which the Italian population can increase.

Italy today faces the certainty of being obliged in ten, twenty, at the latest thirty years, to find an adequate spilling pan for her excess population. The American immigration laws have dammed the stream that was pouring into New York. Part of this current has been deflected to South America. But emigration involves a human loss to the mother country in that it means the departure of many of the hardier elements from the country.

Sooner or later, Italy must have more room in which to expand. Where is this room to be obtained, and how?

This is a practical problem Italy must solve in some way in the future. And to the extent that the solution of it may demand enlargement of Italian frontiers, there is substance for the charge of imperialism which has been thrown at Mussolini's feet.

In the hope of finding an answer to the question, Mussolini's eyes are turned at present toward Africa. In north and east Africa, Italy already has a considerable foreign dominion, as we know, in the old Roman colonies of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, and Somaliland. If Italy can obtain capital to develop these fertile provinces, they offer a relief for the problem of over-population for a number of years to come. There remains the IF. As previously explained, quantities of capital must be sunk in these regions before the districts can be rendered habitable and productive. The exploitation of both Tripolitania and Cyrenaica is going forward encouragingly, but Italy is short of capital. Thus far, foreign financiers have not shown much eagerness to lend their support to the project.

This is the reason the French protectorate of Tunis, adjoining Tripolitania on the west, the bulk of which, already developed, is luxuriant with farms and orchards, forms such a tempting morsel to Italian eyes. The yearning is sharpened by the memory of the fact that Italy could have had Tunis some years back if international events had taken a different turning. Furthermore, the majority of the European population in the protectorate is Italian today. The Italian Chamber of Commerce in the city of Tunis told me that of the 160,000 Europeans in the district, 100,000 were Italians. French officials admitted that the Italians outnumbered the French by 20,000. The gist of the matter is that Italy supplied the manual labor with which the colony was developed, France the capital and organizing power.

Nevertheless, there is little probability that the Tunisian question will come to a head at any near date, in my opinion, despite the fact that one hears more or less talk in Italy about such an eventuality. France will not give up the protectorate voluntarily, and I do not think Mussolini will go to war about it. He certainly will first try for a long while to meet the situation in another way, either by pushing to success the development of

Italy's existing African territory or by trying to obtain other territory elsewhere in Africa. He has already begun diplomatic maneuvers to induce the Allies or the League of Nations to turn over to Italy strips of the former German colonies which, he insists, Italy needs more than England. Even Syria has figured in the discussions as a possible alternative zone for Italian influence.

One hears a good deal in Italy today about the realistic basis of the Fascist foreign policy. The so-called realistic attitude is characteristic of the Fascist philosophic attitude toward life in general, as a matter of fact. By "realism" is meant acceptance of the continued prominence of might as a factor in life—in the orbits of both nation and individual, especially of the former—despite the volume of talk which has been going on throughout the Western world of late about idealism and justice.

The Fascisti have been accused at times of being anti-international, even anti-peace. That the Fascisti are primarily nationalists rather than internationalists, cannot be gainsaid. Mussolini's prime interest in international relations lies in their effect upon the welfare of the Italian nation. He sees the world through this prism. But this does not mean

that Italy prefers to march alone, or is hostile to the general procession of the nations. Mussolini considers it to Italy's advantage to coöperate in the continental scheme of things. Along with England, France, and Germany, Italy is an active member of the League of Nations, despite the fact that personally Mussolini has never had a great deal of faith in the League. Mussolini accepts the League as an established international institution, and is prepared to participate in its activities for the sake of safeguarding Italian interests. His personal ideas of its effectiveness as an instrument of peace do not go as far as do those of some of the other European statesmen, it is true. Mussolini's attitude is similar to that of the president of a big banking institution who accepts the protection offered by the civil police but prefers to play safe by continuing his own institutional detective and police force. This, as a matter of fact, is the position of most of the European powers in actual practice, if not in theory, and probably will continue to be until the League at Geneva has had more time to demonstrate its ability to maintain international order.

Until the injection of Wilsonian idealism into the European situation at the end of the World

War, the European continent had made little pretense of cutting its international programs on any pattern but that of force. The demands of a nation, generally speaking, were recognized or ignored in accordance with the amount of force that nation could throw, or cause to be thrown, behind them if need be. Since 1918, particularly since the signing of the Treaty of Locarno, in 1924, a new tone has crept into international council chambers in Europe. With Geneva as the central medium of expression for this new spirit, the statesmen of all countries of the world are now going through the motion of an attempt to bring about a system of international justice and a comity of nations. Individual national armaments still continue to furnish the last resort basis upon which international order rests, but an important effort is being made to create a substitute.

From its vantage point in the Mediterranean, Fascist Italy is watching this attempt with interest, but without quite as much faith in the immediate practicability of the enterprise as is entertained in some other countries. Italy is not hostile to the idea, but prefers to retain its side-arms for an emergency, figuratively speaking. Mussolini would feel that he had failed properly to safe-

guard the interests of his nation if he relinquished prematurely any instrument of national defense which might be needed in case of emergency, or which might serve as a reserve force to back a diplomatic demand in the council chambers of peace. Mussolini believes Italy has been ignored in the past by the other powers of Europe on account of her debility. He intends to see to it that this cause shall not continue to handicap the nation.

While Fascist Italy is continuing to play an active rôle at Geneva, Mussolini, in common with the other continental premiers, is not overlooking any opportunity to preserve whatever protective features the nation may gain through the old system of ententes and alliances, as a tried and true method to fall back upon in time of need. Since 1925, he has been strengthening Italy's existing diplomatic fences along the Mediterranean, and striving to create new contacts. In the Balkans, he is trying to build up an Italian Little Entente to counter-balance the famous Little Entente which France has drawn around her since the War. Considerable success has rewarded his efforts. An advantageous commercial treaty has been concluded with Greece, an erstwhile rival nation. In Sep-

tember, 1928, Mussolini announced the signature of a second Greco-Italian pact, one of "conciliation, friendship, and arbitration." To the north, Roumania has come in for a measure of courting, Italy having openly declared herself in favor of Bucharest's claims in Bessarabia. A reciprocal friendship and arbitration pact was negotiated with Jugo-Slavia, Italy's bitterest post-War rival on the Adriatic, in 1924. Relations between Belgrade and Rome, however, have been far from sunny. In 1925, an attempt to conclude a second treaty failed through lack of support in the Serbian Parliament. One government at Belgrade lost its portfolio on that account, and repeated anti-Italian demonstrations have occurred in the Serbian capital.

The final act of Mussolini's Adriatic policy was the conclusion of a far-reaching treaty of arbitration and friendship with Albania, the tiny land that lies on the other side of the inland sea from the Italian boot. This treaty gave Rome what amounted to a protectorate over Albania. It accorded Italian commerce most favorable terms, and, what was much more important, gave Italy control of the mouth of the Adriatic.

The treaty caused an uproar in Belgrade, and

nearly precipitated an international crisis. It still constitutes an embarrassing element in the relations between the two large Adriatic powers.

In the fall of 1926, Mussolini concluded a general treaty of arbitration and friendship with Spain. The pact included the usual guarantees of reciprocal benevolent neutrality in case either was attacked by a third power. It brought Madrid and Rome closer together and established a working cordiality that has had several practical consequences. At Geneva, Mussolini backed Spain's demand for a seat in the Council the following year and indirectly lent his moral support to Spain's claims touching Tangier, in the international parleys early in 1928. In return, the Italians expect Spain to speak kindly of their aspirations in other quarters, when occasion offers.

In 1927, a treaty of arbitration, to be in force for ten years, was announced simultaneously at Berlin and Rome. Under the terms of the treaty, Italy and Germany pledged themselves to submit to arbitration issues incapable of adjustment through the ordinary diplomatic channels. This step removed for the time being danger of a collision over the question of the former Austrian Tyrol, incorporated into Italy by the treaty of St.

Germain, which had caused so much friction between Berlin and Rome the year before. A treaty of good will was negotiated with Hungary in 1927.

England and Italy have been alternately flirting and turning away from each other since the days of Versailles. Both are Mediterranean powers, of course. Since 1925, Mussolini has been trying to bring the two capitals permanently closer together. His overtures have met with a degree of success. After the famous conference between Sir Austen Chamberlain and Mussolini in Italy in 1927, it was officially announced at Rome that the two premiers were "in agreement on all major issues of the day." How the two statesmen felt regarding certain major issues of tomorrow, particularly Italy's aspirations in Africa, was not stated.

In the New World, Mussolini has been vigorously pushing a pan-Latin campaign, in an attempt to bring the Latin republics of the American continent under the influence of Italy, the mother of all Latins, substituting her mentorship for the hitherto undisputed leadership of Spain in the Latin bloc. Favorable terms have been secured for Italian immigrants to Argentina, where there already is a large bloc of Italian residents. A treaty of friendship and arbitration was arranged with Chili in 1927.

An attempt is being made to disseminate Italian propaganda throughout the South American continent. The program includes arrangements for mutual exchange of professors and lecturers, to offset the signal success of the French after the World War in placing French "littérateurs" and scientists on South American lecture courses and in universities.

Relations between Rome and Washington have been increasingly cordial since the adjustment of the Italian war debt in 1925. American business men are becoming more and more interested in Italian investments, and trade between the two countries is increasing steadily.

The full measure of fortune this century holds for Italy in the new and changing international scheme in Europe is, of course, a secret of the future. But it is reasonably certain that the heir of Rome is destined to occupy an increasingly prominent place in the world family of nations. It is probable, also, that a certain amount of readjustment will take place in the balance of forces on the Continent, to allow for the growing power of this rejuvenated nation.

The entire Continent of Europe is in a state of flux today. The old order is definitely passing and

a new order approaching. Just what the ultimate arrangement of nations is going to be, it is not possible to say with certainty at present. One factor that may figure prominently in this process is the League of Nations, an international body that is still in its infancy. The scope of the League's future influence, and the way it will operate during the next thirty or forty years cannot be forecast yet. The present national political barriers are doubtless good for another century at least, but the next half of this century will see, in my opinion, the lowering of many of the high economic walls that now separate the peoples of Europe. In this development, the League would normally have an active rôle. All these factors are circumstances which will influence Italy's destiny.

Many students of international affairs believe that during the next quarter of a century the Mediterranean will once more be the center of international political maneuver. Certain it is that the present trend is in this direction. The center of gravity of events is moving south across the continent to the shores of the historic inland sea. The Mediterranean has been the pivotal sea before; it can conceivably be on the eve of another period

of brilliance. Along its several shores, it has the raw material of several major international situations. To the south, in North Africa, is a racial problem of long standing, which must some day be solved. At the east, is the New Turkey, where Mustapha Kemal is engineering a radical peaceful revolution, and at the same time making an increasingly emphatic bid for world recognition. And last, but not of minor importance, there is the question of Italy's rapidly growing population and need for more room, an issue which is likely to figure with increasing urgency as the years pass. It can well be that the old Roman sea, and not the North Atlantic, is destined to be the stage of the great international events of the next thirty years. After that, the force of Russia probably will be injected more definitely into the situation, an incident which will materially alter continental equilibrium again; but before that occurs, there is time for a noteworthy series of developments in southern Europe.

In this play of forces, Fascist Italy can be depended upon to take an increasingly conspicuous part.

APPENDIX

TEXT OF THE ITALIAN LABOR CHARTER ¹

THE CORPORATIVE STATE AND ITS ORGANIZATION

Article 1. The Italian nation is an organism whose aim, whose life, and whose means of action are superior to those of the single individuals occupying and forming it. It is a moral, political, and economic unity, which finds its complete expression in the Fascist State.

Article 2. Labor in all forms, intellectual, technical, and manual, is a social duty. In this sense, and only in this sense, is it under the guardianship of the State. The whole body of production is a single unit, from the national point of view; its objects are unified and are summed up in the well-being of the producers and the development of the national strength.

Article 3. Professional or syndical organization is free. But only the syndicate legally recognized and under the control of the State has the right legally to represent the entire category of employers or workers for which it is constituted: to protect their interests as regards the State and other professional associations; to stipulate collective contracts of labor binding upon all persons belonging to the category, to exact contributions from them, and to carry out in relation to them delegated functions of public interest.

Article 4. In the collective contract of labor the solidarity between the various factors of production

¹ Reprinted from *Current History*, Vol. XXVI, No. 3, June, 1927.

finds its concrete expression through the conciliation of the opposing interests of employers and workers and their subordination to the superior interests of production.

Article 5. The Tribunal of Labor is the organ through which the State intervenes to regulate labor controversies, whether with reference to the observance of pacts or other existing regulations, or with reference to the determination of new labor conditions.

Article 6. Legally recognized professional associations assure legal equality between employers and workmen, maintain discipline in production and labor and strive to perfect them. The corporations form the sole organization of the forces of production and represent all their interests. In view of this complete representation and of the fact that the interests of production are national interests, the corporations are recognized by law as State organs.

Article 7. The corporative State considers private initiative in the field of production as the most efficacious and most useful instrument in the interests of the nation. Private organization of production being a function of national interest, the organizer of a company or undertaking is responsible to the State for the management of its production. Collaboration between the productive forces entails reciprocal rights and duties between them. The whole working staff—technician, general employé, or workman—is an active collaborator in the economic undertaking, the direction of which lies in the hands of the employer, who has the responsibility for it.

Article 8. Professional associations of employers

are obliged to promote in every way possible an increase in production, to improve it, and to obtain a reduction in costs. The representatives of those who follow a liberal profession or an art and the associations depending on the State, join in protecting the interests of art, science, and letters; in perfecting the processes of production and in attaining the moral aims of the corporative system.

Article 9. Intervention by the State in economic production occurs only when private initiative is lacking or is insufficient, or when the political interests of the State are involved. Such intervention can assume the form of control, assistance, or direct management.

Article 10. In collective controversies with labor legal action cannot be begun until the corporative organ has tried conciliation. In individual controversies concerning the interpretation and application of labor contracts professional associations have a right to intervene for conciliation. Competence in such controversies devolves upon the ordinary magistrature, with the addition of assessors named by the interested professional associations.

Article 11. Professional associations are obliged to regulate through collective contracts the relations between the categories of employers and employes they represent. The collective labor contract is stipulated between first-class associations, under the guidance and control of the central organizations, exception being made of the faculty of substitution on the part of the association of higher grade in cases provided for by law and statute. Every collective labor contract, under penalty of nullification, must contain precise regula-

tions on disciplinary matters, on trial periods, on the extent and payment of compensation, and on the hours of labor.

Article 12. The action of the syndicate, the work of conciliation of the corporative bodies, and the decision of the Tribunal of Labor guarantee the approximation of salaries to the normal exigencies of life, to the possibilities of production, and to the actual output of labor. The determination of salary is not controlled by any general rule and is entrusted to agreements between the parties in collective contracts.

Article 13. The consequences of crises in production and monetary crises should be equally divided among all the factors of production. Statistics collected by the public administrations, by the Central Statistical Institute, and by legally recognized professional associations regarding the conditions of production, the labor situation, the monetary market, and variations in the life of the workers, coördinated and elaborated by the Ministry of Corporations, will provide a criterion for reconciling the interests of the various categories and classes and their interests with the superior interests of production.

Article 14. When payment is made by piece-work, and the liquidation of piece-work is made by periods longer than a fortnight, adequate accounts must be made weekly or fortnightly. Night-work not included in the regular periodical periods of labor is payable at higher rates than day-work. When labor is paid by piece-work, payment should be determined so that the industrious worker with a normal capacity for labor will be able to earn a minimum above his basic pay.

Article 15. Employés have the right to a weekly rest on Sunday. Collective contracts will apply this principle, taking into account the existing rules and the technical requirements of an undertaking, and in view of these will ensure the respect for civil and religious holidays according to local traditions. Employés must scrupulously observe working hours.

Article 16. After a year of uninterrupted service in an undertaking requiring continuous labor, an employé has the right to an annual paid holiday.

Article 17. In undertakings requiring continuous work a laborer has the right, in case of a breach of contract and in case his discharge is not due to his own fault, to an indemnity proportionate to years of service. Such indemnity is due also in case of the death of a laborer.

Article 18. The passing of any undertaking which requires continuous work into the hands of another owner does not end the labor contract and the personnel preserve their rights under the new owner. Similarly the illness of a worker not exceeding a determined length does not terminate a labor contract. A call to arms or service in the national militia is not a cause of discharge.

Article 19. Infractions of discipline and acts which disturb the normal functioning of a company, committed by workers, are punished according to gravity, by a fine, suspension of work, or immediate discharge without indemnity. Cases in which these penalties are applicable will be specified.

Article 20. New employés will be subject to a period of trial during which the right of ending the contract

will be reciprocal, with payment only for the time of actual work.

Article 21. The collective labor contract extends its benefices and its discipline to home workers also. Special rules will be issued by the State to assure cleanliness and hygienic conditions of home work.

Article 22. Only the State can investigate and control the phenomenon of employment and unemployment of workers, which is a complex index to the conditions of production and labor.

Article 23. Employment offices organized on the basis of equality are placed under the control of the corporative organs. Employers must seek help among the workers registered in those offices and they have the option of choosing workers who are members of the party or of the Fascist Syndicates, depending on the length of time they have been registered.

Article 24. Professional associations of workers are obliged to carry out selective action among the workers, intended constantly to increase their technical capacity and moral value.

Article 25. The corporative organs must see that the laws against accidents and the policing of labor are observed by individuals belonging to the affiliated associations.

Article 26. Prevention of accidents is another manifestation of the principle of collaboration toward which employer and employé must proportionately contribute. The State, aided by corporative organs and professional associations, will endeavor to coördinate

and unify, as far as possible, the system and the agencies of accident prevention.

Article 27. The Fascist State proposes to accomplish, first, the improvement of accident insurance; second, the betterment and extension of maternity insurance; third, the establishment of insurance against occupational illnesses and tuberculosis and the elaboration of a system of general insurance against all illness; fourth, the improvement of insurance against involuntary unemployment, and fifth, the adoption of special forms of endowment insurance for young workers.

Article 28. It is the task of associations of workers to protect the rights of their members administratively and juridically regarding accidents and social insurance. In collective contracts of labor, as far as technically possible, mutual funds for the sick will be established with contributions by employers, employés, and Government representatives, these funds to be administered by representatives of each under the control of the corporative organs.

Article 29. Assistance to individuals represented, whether or not they are members, is the right and duty of the professional associations. These must carry out directly through their own organs their functions of assistance. They cannot delegate them to other organizations or institutions except for matters of a general nature, over and above the specific interests of each category of producers.

Article 30. Education and instruction, especially professional instruction of their representatives, members or not members, is one of the principal duties of

the professional associations. They must support the action of the national organizations with respect to the Dopolavoro movement [a nation-wide State organization to provide recreation, education, and general beneficent assistance to the workers of both sexes after working hours] and other educational initiatives.

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